

Monday  
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Britain's newspaper  
for Europe

# The Guardian

EUROPE

G2 with European weather

Peter Ustinov in G2

Matthew Parris

## As Iraq celebrates, Saddam is told: One false move and we will strike

Clinton, Blair keep up pressure

Ian Black, Martin Kettle in Washington and David Sharrock in Amman

THE United States and Britain vowed last night to bomb Iraq if Saddam Hussein does not keep his promise to permit unconditional weapons inspections as the world breathed a sigh of relief that air strikes had been aborted at the 11th hour.

As details emerged of Saturday's knife-edge climbdown, secured only after US bombers had already taken off for their targets, Washington and London insisted that there must now be full compliance by Baghdad to destroy its banned weapons.

"Iraq agreed to meet the demands of the international community to co-operate fully with the United Nations weapons inspectors," President Bill Clinton said.

"Iraq has backed down but that is not enough. Now Iraq must live up to its obligations. Until we see complete compliance, we will remain vigilant, keep up the pressure and be ready to act."

Tony Blair, firmly behind the US president, echoed this, saying Britain remained "ready, willing and able" to launch air strikes without further warning.

As UN inspectors headed back to Baghdad, Downing Street stepped up its rhetoric, fearful that the outcome of the crisis would be seen as showing a lack of resolve.

"Saddam is now trapped," the Prime Minister's spokesman said. "One false move and he can be hit legitimately, and with the kind of international support that would not have been the case before."

But for all the tough talk, the US and Britain are, in fact, little closer to action than they were before Iraq dramatically broke off all co-operation with the UN Special Commission, Unscm, on October 31.

That flagrant violation of last February's agreement with the UN Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, made it far harder for Russia, France, China and many other countries to oppose military action.

If Iraq is again co-operat-



An Iraqi soldier practises for yesterday's Baghdad Day military show at the Saddam stadium in the country's capital

PHOTOGRAPH: JOCKEL FINCH

'This is no defeat - it's a great victory'

Kaz Said in Baghdad

IN downtown Baghdad they were crowding around newspaper kiosks yesterday for word that the threat of a massive air bombardment had, for the time being at least, been averted.

Iraqis expressed a mixture of relief and hope that sanctions would be lifted. "The people want to find out about the leadership's decisions and the conditions it is laying down to resume co-operation," a vendor said.

The message from the newspapers was more bullish. The decision by Saddam Hussein to allow arms inspectors back into Iraq was anything but a climb-down - on the contrary, it was a great victory.

The ruling Baath party newspaper, al-Thawra - Revolution - declared in a front-page editorial: "This leadership's decision pulled the rug from under the feet of the American administration, which has been used to distorting the facts and engineering excuses to commit aggression against it."

The paper added that "after this victory we should thank our steadfast people. Victory after victory until we overcome [the sanctions]."

That defiant line was echoed in Babel, Iraq's most influential newspaper, which accused US officials of being "killers, terrorists and fools". The

Iraqi people viewed the threats as a "cruel joke".

Seated at Al-Zahawi cafe, Karim, a 26-year-old doctor, said Baghdad had pulled off a coup by managing to avoid US air strikes. But he slammed Arab countries which, he said, had been "informed of a strike in advance but did nothing to oppose it. Shame on the traitors, shame on the liars," he said.

Although relieved, he hadn't been scared of an attack. "To die in a bombardment is less painful than this slow death. I can't get hold of any medicine and I'm a doctor. So what about ordinary people?"

Engrossed in a newspaper at a nearby table, Kassem Aswad, 70, hoped the embargo would be lifted or at least eased after Iraq had agreed unconditionally to allow UN arms inspectors back into the country.

All Taha, a 68-year-old retired civil servant, said Iraq had "not backed down but responded favourably to calls from the UN secretary-general. We trust Kofi Annan to get the embargo lifted, because eight years should have been enough to search the whole of Asia."

In Baghdad's markets, traders went about their business. "I haven't heard the news and I don't want to know. In any case, a strike would not have been worse than the embargo," said a telephone merchant, while currency traders followed the ups and downs of the dinar against the dollar. AFP and agencies

### Clinton's five demands

ON 11 November, President Clinton set out five demands for Iraq to meet if it was to avoid a massive air bombardment. The demands were: 1. Iraq must accept full and unconditional inspections of its weapons facilities by UN inspectors. 2. Iraq must accept full and unconditional inspections of its weapons facilities by UN inspectors. 3. Iraq must accept full and unconditional inspections of its weapons facilities by UN inspectors. 4. Iraq must accept full and unconditional inspections of its weapons facilities by UN inspectors. 5. Iraq must accept full and unconditional inspections of its weapons facilities by UN inspectors.

### Austin

THIS TIME MEAN IT.



qualified letter arrived at the UN on Saturday. "We squeezed out two more letters, each clarifying in ever more abject terms the unconditional nature of the climb-down," crowed one official.

But in both capitals there was irritation that Mr Annan had publicly welcomed the

first Iraqi response, weakening the sense of steadily mounting pressure.

And international divisions were also highlighted after the security council failed to reach a conclusion on Iraq's latest move after a marathon session on Saturday.

Long-term problems remain unresolved, though President Clinton's comments yesterday signalled a significant change in Washington's long-term strategy towards Iraq, placing increased emphasis on building up the anti-Saddam opposition while continuing to contain Iraq's military threat.

Calling for a new government in Baghdad, Mr Clinton pledged to implement the Iraq Liberation Act, passed by the Congress last month, under which the administration is authorised to equip, train and promote the Iraqi opposition,

including providing military support.

The outcome is good news for Britain, which had hoped to keep Unscm in place, as opposed to some voices in the US administration which had argued that it had outlived its usefulness and served simply to allow Saddam to initiate provocations when it suited him.

Unscm was set up to certify that Iraq has done away with its weapons programmes, as required by the Security Council.

Its certification is required for the council to lift the sanctions imposed on Iraq for its 1990 invasion of Kuwait.

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## Laureate stakes: Fanthorpe moves through the field



U.A. Fanthorpe: odds have shortened

Dan Gledhill

THE 60-year-old poet U.A. Fanthorpe - Ursula to her friends - has moved up strongly in the field to be the next poet laureate. Her birthday poem for the Prince of Wales, published on the front page of the Guardian on Saturday, has brought her into serious contention for the post.

Where before she had been a 66-1 outsider, the interest generated by her 50th birthday tribute to Prince Charles has shortened her odds to 33-1. The new odds put her on an even footing with the

somewhat better known Pam Ayres.

Graham Sharp of the bookmakers William Hill yesterday said: "Because of the initial response and as a result of the exposure she has received, we have decided to cut the odds from 66-1 to 33-1."

Fanthorpe now shifts to the forefront of the growing moves to appoint a woman to the post of poet laureate for the first time. Many observers feel that appointing a woman would address concerns that the position is outdated and merely honorary, and that it bears little relation to the real world.

Tony Blair, who is known

to be keen to appoint a poet and not a pop star to the role, is thought to want to make the choice a "people's poet".

The Prime Minister makes the appointment after consulting literary bodies including the Royal Society of Literature, the Society of Authors, the Poetry Society and the Royal Literary Fund.

Michael Holroyd, chairman of the Royal Society of Literature, said yesterday: "I rather liked U.A. Fanthorpe's poem for Charles. She did a very difficult job. I think I've got the other volume of her poetry here." But he refused to reveal which names the RSL was considering recommend-

ing to the Prime Minister.

"Our list at this stage is provisional. We have certainly got women on our list. We have also got men. The whole point that Downing Street is making is that there should be a decent interval. But I think you could definitely say that tension is mounting."

Fanthorpe, a teacher and hospital clerk before publishing her first volume of poetry in 1978, is one of several female poets considered to be serious contenders for the post. The favourite is Wendy Cope, who topped a Radio 4 poll for the position. Fanthorpe was the only other woman to make the top 10. James

Fenton, who thwarted Fanthorpe's ambition to become Oxford's first female professor of poetry, was unplaced.

Cope made her debut in 1986 with Making Cocoa For Kingsley Amis. Several other women are in the running. They include the hard-hitting Carol Ann Duffy, Ruth Padel, the former nightclub singer who won last year's National Poetry Competition; and Leona Greenlaw, who was for a spell poet-in-residence at the Science Museum.

An appointment is expected early in the new year.

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## Why Does Your Memory Fail You?

A WORLD-FAMOUS memory expert, who has trained industrialists, trades unionists, businessmen, professional men, salesmen, housewives and students to improve their memories, once said:

"Many people are embarrassed by a poor memory, and find difficulty in concentrating, whilst others realise that they lose business, academic and social opportunities not only because they cannot remember accurately everything they see, hear or read, but also because they cannot think or express their thoughts clearly, logically and concisely. Some seek advice, but many do not, mainly because they believe their memories cannot be improved."

### Simple Technique

And yet, he went on to explain, he has devised a simple technique, which can improve even the poorest memory. What's more, it can even work like magic to give you added poise, self-confidence and greater personal effectiveness. Everyone owes it to himself to find out more about this method.

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### Free

To acquaint all readers of The Guardian with the easy-to-follow rules for developing skill in remembering, we, the publishers, have printed full details of this interesting self-training method in a fascinating book, "Adventures in Memory", sent free on request. No obligation. No salesman will call. Just telephone 0800 238 7070 free, or fill in and return the coupon on Page 4 (no stamp needed). Or write to: Memory and Concentration Studies Dept, MCM58AT, FREEPOST198, Manchester M60 3DL.

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Our e-mail address for  
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## In G2 Europe today: Opening eyes in Ireland: speaking the truth about child abuse

+ Dina Rabinovitch talks to Sarah Miles about lovers and drinking urine

'Christian' Tory leader disputes exclusivity of Blairite claim to moral high ground and projects more tolerant image for his party

## Hague calls truce with the Church

Michael White  
Political Editor

**W**ILLIAM Hague will tonight signal a truce to end nearly 20 years of guerrilla warfare between the Conservative Party and the churches when he admits that Christians "should never have been back from being involved in politics".

Far from quarrelling with Church leaders for being crypto-socialists, as Lady Thatcher and her allies frequently did, the Tory leader will use a speech on the eve of

the Anglican General Synod to call for new co-operation — and to dispute Blairite claims to the spiritual high ground.

"No politician and no political party has a copyright on scripture," Mr Hague will say in a direct challenge to Tony Blair's active Christianity, which the Labour leader once told the Sunday Telegraph, led him to reject Conservatism in favour of New Labourism.

The move comes as the Government's reform plans for the House of Lords threaten some of the 26 seats held by senior Anglican bishops because ministers want to broaden the composition of

the upper house, including other churches and ooo-Christian faiths as well. The bishops welcome the move, but not at their expense.

Mr Hague's "listening to Britain" campaign is also meant to broaden his base, so that he wants to hear what non-Tories in the churches are saying, he will tell the Conservative Christian Fellowship tonight.

The 37-year-old opposition leader, who describes himself as a Christian who does not go to church every week — "like most of the country" — admits that it is a long time since the Church of England was "the Tory party at

prayer" — though many active church-goers are also active in the party, he said last night.

"But I do recognise that sometimes people who have been in a leading role in the Church have found it very easy to embrace collectivist, leftwing solutions to problems, and I think place too much faith in government intervention," Mr Hague said.

What he now wants to do, apart from "listening to churches in the inner city", is to encourage them to restore their historic role as a voluntary social agency. "We should be reasserting the faith of the Church and the

importance of individuals taking action within the community. I want to redress the balance a little."

In urging the churches to stand up for family values — "the Church should stick up for marriage, it should show that we take it extremely seriously," he says — Mr Hague knows he is treading on thin ice, not least because of his widely publicised cohabitation with his wife before they married.

Interviewed on ITV's Sunday Night, Mr Hague explained: "We have to recognise that most people in the country think that it is sensible to know each other very

well, in many cases to live together, before they get married. Now that's not incompatible with what Christians believe."

He repeated what he has said before in his drive to make the Tories seem less judgmental about personal morality, including divorce and gay sexuality. Living together, as he and his wife, Fiona, did before their marriage, was not "going against what Christians believe, particularly when it's people who are engaged to be married, who are going to be married, who are so clearly committed to each other."

"What churches have really been arguing against, or what I see Christianity being opposed to, is promiscuity and people entering into intimate relationships with no intention of carrying them on," he said. "Well, that certainly can't be said of the position I was in with my then-fiancee. So I've never had any qualms about that," Mr Hague insisted.

Some Church leaders will take issue with that, as will the Daily Mail. But Mr Hague is trying to re-connect his shattered party with a younger electorate still in thrall to Mr Blair, whose Christian credentials are not disputed even by his enemies.

The Prime Minister takes a more traditional view of charity than Lord Tebbit, who once argued that the Good Samaritan could be of help to the biblical robbery victim only because he had the money to take him to a decent hotel for a wash and brush-up.

A measure of the changing public mood came yesterday when Francis Maude, the highly traditional shadow chancellor in the Hague team, confirmed that he and his sisters had helped to nurse their brother, Charles, who died of AIDS-related illnesses in 1993 after being HIV-positive for seven years.

## Job fears over £1.5bn new deal for Rover

David Gow  
Industrial Editor

**R**OVER, the loss-making car firm, is poised this week to unveil a radical productivity deal with union leaders that will bring controversial-style working practices to its main British plants and trigger up to £1.5 billion investment at the threatened Longbridge factory near Birmingham.

But the price of the deal, designed to save Rover £150 million a year, is likely to be further large-scale job cuts among the 38,000-strong workforce, and unions fear it will lead to a pay freeze.

Union officials have warned that BMW's plans could mean up to 5,000 job losses at Rover, mainly among the 18,000-strong workforce at Longbridge. But company spokesmen insisted last night that they had no specific numbers in mind. Local Labour MPs said the key issue was to secure a huge injection of capital through new flexible working patterns rather than job cuts and to end acute uncertainty across the car group.

Rover is said to be heading for losses of more than £500 million this year as its UK market share has slumped to below 7 per cent and its overseas sales have been hit by the strong pound. It has al-

ready put its plants on a four-day week and investment has dried up.

Union agreement, expected as early as Wednesday, would enable the board at BMW, Rover's German owners, to apply to the Government for around £200 million in aid to help finance its rescue plan for Longbridge.

This is where the new Mini, the MG sports car, and a new medium-size car are to be built.

The core of the pending deal is a "working time contract" under which production staff would agree to work a set number of hours a year. They would "bank up" extra hours on the assembly line during peak periods of production, which could then be taken as longer holidays later in the year.

Rover would make substantial savings because the extra hours would no longer qualify for overtime premiums. But the car firm would also gain more efficient use of capital investment as staff would be required to treat Saturday as a normal working day — without earning extra bonuses.

Union sources said the new working practices, common to all BMW's German plants, had met fierce resistance, notably from shop stewards. "But the negotiators have recognised that unless there's change the future of Longbridge will remain clouded."



The Rover production line at Longbridge... insiders say that without a deal, the plant's future is under threat

The sources added: "They also know there is a powerful anti-Rover group on the BMW board which has wanted to pull the plug and so they have been willing to meet most, if not all, of the company's demands. The main concern has been to keep in place the current agreement that there will be no compulsory redundancies."

There are fears in some union circles that, apart from losing overtime bonuses, workers could soon be faced with an effective pay freeze. But company insiders said that a 3.5 per cent pay rise had just been implemented and "we are not talking about cuts in the basic wage, which on average is £16,000 a year". They insisted that BMW

had so far made no request to the Government for state subsidy to modernise Longbridge but would do so once any deal on flexible working was in place and approved by both the Rover and BMW parent boards.

Bernard Pischetsrieder, BMW chairman, has urged that a deal should be in place by the end of this month, warning

that Longbridge will otherwise be wound down. The two sides will meet later today with negotiations said to be at a "delicate" stage.

"The new working practices will apply across all our plants, not just at Longbridge. But without a deal, Longbridge will be under serious threat," company insiders said.

## Power of Berg lucidly caught

Review

Andrew Clements

Wozzeck  
Royal Festival Hall

**T**HE Philharmonia's concert performance of Berg's masterpiece, conducted by the orchestra's chief conductor Christoph von Dohnanyi, was the first event in their Mahler and Vienna series. But there does not need to be any invented reason to programme what is arguably the greatest opera of our century.

Placed straight through, without intervals and without any theatrical trappings, Wozzeck's power, its taut economy and pitiless concentration on the fates of its protagonists, are unblinkingly exposed. Böckner's play and Berg's treatment of it are welded seamlessly, and in a performance as scrupulously prepared as this their shared compassion becomes overwhelming.

Dohnanyi is a superb Berg conductor. The military band onstage and the tavern dances were perfectly integrated, and the Viennese rhythms and lulls that thread through the score were pointed up without ever over-egging their sentimentality, so that the music was constantly poised between the expressionism and the nostalgia that make up the essence of the composer.

The orchestral interludes between the scenes naturally unleashed the full emotional power and in the third act became almost unbearable — the huge climax on a single note that follows Wozzeck's murder of Marie seemed to compress the whole tragedy into a single gesture; the famous D minor interlude that follows Wozzeck's own death crystallised all its pathos.

The Philharmonia responded superbly to everything Dohnanyi asked of them.

There was a first-rate cast. In the title role Franz Hawlata sang the part much more than some interpreters, never descending to self-pity or histrionics. As Marie, Deborah Polaski was able to demonstrate her ability to sing with sheer beauty.

Alan Woodrow sang forcefully as the Drum Major; Nadja Michael was an earthy Margret; Peter Brondar a suitably bemused Andres; Eric Halfonson a reptilian Doctor. Graham Clark brought the real tang of the opera house to the part of the Captain, larger than life yet adrift in his way just as much as Wozzeck himself.

## Saddam is told: One false move and we will strike

continued from page 1

Mr Blair said: "We know from our long experience that Saddam Hussein is not a person we can trust."

"They have given all these further assurances during the night but I repeat it is not over yet."

"Every single bit of it has to be bolted down and we will make a judgment about that before we proceed."

Robin Cook, the Foreign Secretary, postponed a trip that he had planned to Saudi Arabia and Egypt today because the situation in the region was so fluid.

Mr Cook and the Prime Minister had worked through Saturday night on the crisis, with Mr Blair making eight telephone calls to President Clinton and his colleagues in 18 hours.

Both governments made clear that their military pres-

sure would be maintained to ensure compliance with the undertakings given by President Saddam.

The US continued to dispatch more fighter jets, bombers, surveillance and support aircraft to the region — further strengthening a force expected to reach about 400 aircraft by the end of November.

Two F-117 stealth fighters arrived in Kuwait yesterday from New Mexico. Two more will follow later.

Among other planes arriving in the region yesterday were six B-1 bombers with their support personnel and surveillance planes.

George Robertson, the Defence Secretary, said that British troops would remain in the Gulf in a state of readiness until it was clear that the United Nations weapons inspectors were being allowed to carry out their work fully.

## Zoo owner Aspinall in battle with cancer

Will Woodward

**T**HE millionaire animal park owner and former Referendum Party candidate, John Aspinall, is "very ill" in hospital suffering from cancer, a friend said last night.

The 72-year-old zoologist and casino owner admitted in a television interview to be screened this week that he was "close to death" and added: "I probably won't live very long."

A colleague at Port Lympne animal park near Hythe, Kent, said last night: "Mr Aspinall is very ill. He is not up to speaking to anyone at the moment."

It had been reported that Mr Aspinall has secretly battled with leukaemia for five years but had shunned conventional nursing.



John Aspinall: animal bonding expert PHOTOGRAPH BY DEREK COX

Mr Aspinall was a close friend of both Lord Lucas and the late Sir James Goldsmith, who was his partner in the gaming

clubs, world leaders in the conservation of endangered species, have been abounded in controversy over the killing of three keepers by tigers.

In November 1996, Mr Aspinall won a High Court case to allow keepers to enter the enclosures of freely roaming tigers to bond with them. In May of that year, a boy was awarded £125,000 because his arm was ripped off by a chimpanzee at Port Lympne in 1989.

In a recent interview, to be shown on Meridian television tomorrow, Mr Aspinall wore a patch over his left eye and was visibly suffering from cancer.

"I have never been able to afford anything in my life," he said. "I just take plunges and hope the gods smile on me later. They al-

ways have. Until now. Now I have to smile on my own. I'm not very well at the moment. I probably won't live very long. And they [my family] will be landed with something that loses, at the moment, £2.5 million."

But he said he would leave shares in his gambling clubs and casinos to finance the zoo.

"A lot of money has been spent by me doing construction while I am alive which wouldn't happen if I was dead. At least all is paid for. I won't leave the organisation any debts."

Mr Aspinall stood for the Referendum Party against the then home secretary, Michael Howard, in Folkestone and Hythe at the last general election. He achieved one of the party's best results — 4,188 votes, 8 per cent of the poll.

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Bishop Neville Chamberlain: 'urged priest to go'



Miriam Byrne (centre) with parishioners at St Paul's, Dundee. The two months since her appointment have been turbulent

A Scottish cathedral is in the thick of an unholy row over its female incumbent, writes Gerard Seenan

## Knives out for first woman provost

FROM the beginning it was always going to be a difficult job. But for a twice-married former Roman Catholic nun, the mantle of being arguably Britain's most senior Anglican woman priest is proving to be more arduous than she could ever have imagined.

Only two months after her appointment, Miriam Byrne, aged 52, is facing down calls for her resignation from the church committee that presided over her installation.

Some parishioners at St Paul's Cathedral, Dundee, have dubbed her Attila the Hun, accusing her of over-compensating in her role as a "woman in a man's job".

Worse still, a petition was yesterday circulating among her flock calling for the reinstatement of her predecessor, Michael Bunce, who was forced to resign after embezzling \$44,000 from a company he set up to help the unemployed.

Despite this disgrace, to some sections of the highly conservative congregation at St Paul's, Dr Bunce remains one advantage over Ms Byrne: he is a man doing a man's job and is over-compensating because of that. She is dictatorial and does not care what other people think. "She is throwing her

weight about in a way no man would dream of," said one member of the congregation. In September, when Ms Byrne was appointed by the Scottish Episcopal Church as provost of St Paul's, she became the first woman priest in Britain to take control of an Anglican cathedral.

From the outset, her appointment was overshadowed by controversy and the traditionalist attitudes of some sections of her relatively small congregation.

When news of Ms Byrne's appointment broke, George Greig, the cathedral's honorary chaplain for 13 years, resigned. He took with him around a dozen members of the congregation.

Another faction who continue to attend St Paul's refuse to take communion when Ms Byrne is conducting the service.

Over the last two months, relations between Ms Byrne and church office holders have become increasingly fraught.

Now all 12 members of the vestry committee that appointed her have written to the local bishop asking for her resignation under a canon associated with pastoral breakdown.

Bruce Cameron, the Bishop of Aberdeen and Orkney, has been called in to mediate on the dispute.



Troubled territory: St Paul's Cathedral, Dundee

The congregation at St Paul's was offered a brief explanation of the dispute at services yesterday as prayers were offered for Ms Byrne. But outside the cathedral, the cracks in the disunited church were evident.

"The church is now empty. There used to be easily 100 at the 11am service and now

St Paul's who are prepared to speak up for Ms Byrne.

"A lot of people in this church support Miriam. It is just a very small group who want her to resign," said church member Elaine Runciman.

The church hierarchy had hoped the appointment of Ms Byrne would bring a degree of tranquillity to the troubled congregation at St Paul's.

The five-week trial which eventually led to the conviction of Dr Bunce had been embarrassing for the Scottish Episcopal Church — and for St Paul's.

Details of how Ms Byrne's predecessor had taken flying lessons, driven expensive cars and bought ponies for his children, using funds embezzled from a training company he had set up to help the unemployed, made lurid headlines in the Scottish press.

This new controversy will only add to the church's woes.

Although precise accounts of how Ms Byrne has earned her title the Nun monk and her reputation for "Thatcher-like decision-making" are not readily forthcoming, there is a dedicated corps in the congregation who are intent on seeing her leave before Christmas.

It is also claimed that the Bishop of Brechin, Neville Chamberlain, has asked her to consider leaving the church.

But there are some members of the church who say Ms Byrne is merely the victim of traditionalist intolerance.

She came to St Paul's on a convoluted route. She began her religious life as a nun with the Vocation Sisters — but, although she spent seven years with the order, she never took her final vows and eventually she left the convent to get married to former monk.

They divorced 18 years later, and Ms Byrne married again to a university librarian. She later returned to the religious life, working her way up to her present position.

Ms Byrne says that she would like to speak about the calls for her resignation, but as the matter is in effect sub judice, she cannot.

Dr Cameron was unavailable for comment, and a spokesman for the Scottish Episcopal Church would confirm only that there was a disagreement between Ms Byrne and her congregation.

For the traditionalists, the provost of St Paul's was always going to be a difficult job for a woman to fill. But, for a woman with a past and strident views to boot, it may simply be beyond the pastoral pale.

## Ashdown hit by backlash over deal with Blair

Michael White  
Political Editor

**P**ADDY Ashdown faces the costly and divisive prospect of a special Liberal Democrat conference in the new year if he fails to persuade his party's federal executive that he has not "sold out" to Tony Blair when they confront him at Westminster tonight.

Even friends and allies are uncertain which way such a conference would vote if given the chance to pronounce on last week's commitment to a "widening and deepening" of the joint consultative committee which Mr Ashdown set up with Mr Blair in July 1997 after Labour's landslide election victory.

What became clear last night was that both sides want the issue resolved quickly, well before the Liberal Democrats' spring conference in Edinburgh in March. It is intended to provide the party with a springboard for a clutch of important elections — for Europe, Wales, Scotland and hundreds of vulnerable council seats, all to be contested in May and June.

Simon Hughes, MP for North Southwark and Bermondsey and one of only two of the 46 Lib Dem MPs to vote against the latest Ashdown-Blair pact at a private meeting in the Commons last week, ruled out the prospect of using the dispute to challenge for the leadership.

"Sometimes leaders have to be contained rather than deposed," he said on LWT's CrossTalk programme after making clear that, if required by his colleagues to co-operate as health spokesman on common policies agreed with Frank Dobson, he would do so. But Mr Hughes is unhappy and thinks his leader has seriously blundered.

The Lib Dem leader caught most of his parliamentary colleagues and all his grassroots supporters by surprise when Downing Street issued a joint statement, agreed with Mr Blair, last Wednesday.

A small ad hoc group called the Campaign for Liberal Democracy is raising the standard of revolt on the Internet, though disquiet is much wider. A critical motion was passed by West Country Lib Dems on Saturday.

Speaking on Radio 4's The World This Weekend yesterday, Mr Ashdown was unapologetic: if Westminster eventually got proportional representation, it would

mean that coalition governments in the European style would become commonplace.

Mr Ashdown's allies and critics believe he will obtain a majority on the federal executive tonight, buoyed by the knowledge that Mr Blair has delivered on the shared agenda of constitutional reform — even if FR for next June's Euro-elections is now bogged down in a dangerous stand-off with the Lords.

But they also know that party rules require the signatures of only 200 conference delegates to trigger a special one-day conference in January. "There's a lot of concern that we may not have extracted a high enough price for our co-operation with Labour," one senior Lib Dem conceded last night.

An MP commented: "This is Paddy's worst misjudgment in terms of what the party will take and he will not be allowed to make another one."

Crucial meeting tonight may not be enough to head off call for more action

The alternative threat to a special conference is a special ballot. That too would be risky and divisive.

In theory the two leaders are looking for practical and specific areas of policy formation where they could learn the habits of co-operation, ready for the FR world they hope will come. But critics such as Mr Hughes, who fear the party will lose votes as well as its identity this way, are asking about the mechanics of the new idea.

Do they require him to go to the Heath Secretary and find common ground to report back — or take ideas from his health team to Mr Dobson for negotiation, Mr Hughes is asking colleagues. Across the field of social policy, including welfare and education, there will be similar problems.

Mr Ashdown says demanding FR and then rejecting co-operation is illogical. "We believe we can assemble a progressive liberal centre in this country, we can put together a movement of parties that can work together," he said yesterday.

"That will be the dominant governing force of our time and I want Liberal Democrats to be in that rather than standing at the side acting as critics."

## Beer prices cut in seasonal price war

Sue Quinn

**I**N THE kind of price war that consumers can normally only dream about, Sainsbury's is set to slash the price of some French beer to 20p a bottle in an effort to lure business away from cross-Channel "booze cruises".

The supermarket chain intends to cut the price of lager and other goods to persuade shoppers there is no need for the traditional "beer run" to Calais in the run-up to the festive season. There are signs already that the move will lead to a price-cutting battle between the supermarkets.

Sainsbury's decision will see 22 cut from the price of a pack of 25cl Biere de Moulins lagers. At £5.99, the 30-bottle pack will still be more expensive than in France, but the supermarket says it will make cross-Channel shoppers

think twice. Small bottles or "stubbies" of continental beer can be bought for as little as 10p in France, a negligible saving when the cost of getting there is taken into account, according to Sainsbury's.

It is backing its cheaper alcohol campaign with price cuts on turkeys and other festive foods. A spokesman said: "We are trying to show that people do not have to go to France to stock up for Christmas. Once they have paid for petrol, the ferry and everything else, they may as well stay here."

Other supermarkets intend to mirror Sainsbury's campaign. Asda is believed to be ready to offer vintage Dom Perignon champagne for £49.99 — a saving of £20.00.

Cross-Channel sales are estimated to account for 17 per cent of the beer consumed in British homes.

## Mersey police chief denies Hillsborough claims

David Ward

**T**HE new chief constable of Merseyside insisted yesterday that claims that he had acted as spin doctor for the troubled South Yorkshire force after the Hillsborough disaster were "simply not true".

"There is nothing I need to be forgiven for," said Malcolm Bettison, who begins his new job today after five weeks of bitter controversy over his appointment. "There is only ambiguity and speculation."

Mr Bettison said bluntly that allegations that he had conspired in a campaign of black propaganda to protect the force were wrong.

"People are commenting about me but no one knows me," he added. "The more time has gone between my appointment and taking up the post, the more I have wanted to get to Merseyside to lay the ghost."

He appealed to the families of the 96 fans who died on the terraces in Sheffield when Liverpool played Nottingham Forest in April 1989 to meet him for talks. The invitation was last night dismissed as a public relations stunt by Phil Hammond, whose 14-year-old son died at Hillsborough.

Mr Bettison said he understood how angry the families must be that no individuals had been convicted of any offence or held to account for

ally before a court for their role at the match.

"While understanding that residual anger and frustration, I had no idea until October 13, when I was appointed, that any of that could be or would be focused on me. It is certainly unjustified and I want the opportunity to show the families as quickly as possible how unjustified that is."

The families bitterly criticised the Merseyside Police Authority for unanimously appointing Mr Bettison.

The protests were based on claims made in the Commons in May by Maria Eagle, MP for Garston, that South Yorkshire police had set up a unit to practise "historical revisionism" after the disaster and named Mr Bettison as a member of it.

"I have felt a growing sense of frustration that all that has been in the public domain is speculation and rumour, born of the statement Maria Eagle made," he said. "She made that statement with parliamentary privilege. She has never repeated any of the allegations that were linked to my name. Any evidence that might have substantiated what she said has not been forthcoming. I know that, because there isn't any evidence to substantiate those allegations."

"I cannot make it any clearer than this: those allegations are simply not true."

Ms Eagle and Mr Bettison met last week. She said she was impressed by his openness and he agreed that she was interested only in a search for truth.

Mr Bettison said the South Yorkshire force has been "turned topsy-turvy" by Hillsborough. His role in its aftermath had been primarily concerned with reviewing policies and practices on policing major events and dealing with disasters.

Mr Bettison, aged 42 and the son of a steelworker, rose through the ranks after joining the former Sheffield force at 18. After joining an accelerated promotion programme, he studied psychology and philosophy at Oxford.

Malcolm Bettison: "Nothing I need to be forgiven for"



Malcolm Bettison: "Nothing I need to be forgiven for"

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# The Iraq crisis

## With the bombers in the air, word came of a climbdown

**How the drama unfolded:** Clinton went to bed expecting to hear of a missile attack. He was woken to different news

Clinton went to bed expecting to hear of a missile attack. He was woken to different news

**T**HE massive American B-52 bombers, the largest and most destructive warplanes on the planet, took off from Diego Garcia while President Bill Clinton was trying to catch an hour's sleep in Washington in the early hours of Saturday morning.

Armed with missiles carrying 2,000th warheads and protected by fighter planes, the bombers began their long flight from the British island base in the Indian Ocean just as the sun was coming up over Baghdad, 3,000 miles to the north.

As the B-52s flew northwards across the ocean, warships of the US Gulf Fleet prepared to launch their own batteries of Tomahawk cruise missiles on targets deep in Iraq. On the aircraft carrier Dwight D Eisenhower, jet fighters were being readied to take to the air on bombing raids against Baghdad's air defence systems.

At bases in Qatar and Oman, US fighter planes were prepared for combat missions. In Kuwait, F-117 stealth fighter bombers were scheduled for a late afternoon take-off on precision bombing missions. Refuelling aircraft were on the runways at the Prince Sultan air base in Saudi Arabia.

By early evening on Saturday, Baghdad time, the US forces — 170 aircraft and warships — were primed to deliver the largest military assault on Iraq since the 1991 Gulf war, beginning what officials described as a "rolling campaign" against Saddam Hussein's military bases, com-

munications centres and the factories in which the Iraqi leader has continued to manufacture and stockpile chemical and biological weapons.

"You're not talking about a strike," a Pentagon official told the press in Washington on Friday. "You're talking about a sustained campaign."

In the White House, Mr Clinton had issued the orders late on Friday, after a report from his national security adviser, Sandy Berger, and his top military adviser, General Henry Shelton. As he tried to snatch a brief rest from the intense discussions and planning, Mr Clinton expected to wake to the news that the missiles had gone in.

Instead, some time in the early hours of Saturday morning, Washington time, Mr Clinton was woken to a different report. Events had taken an unexpected turn. As the B-52s headed through the skies towards Baghdad, President Saddam had authorised a letter to be sent to the United Nations secretary-general, Kofi Annan, in New York, pledging that Iraq would allow the resumption of UN weapons inspections — the issue that had triggered the crisis. Mr Clinton spoke by phone to Mr Annan, and then to Tony Blair, as he had done throughout the crisis. Mr Clinton and Mr Berger decided Mr Annan's version of what the letter contained had to be taken seriously. Mr Clinton issued a new order, putting the attacks on hold. Somewhere over the Arabian Sea, the B-52s began to wheel back towards Diego Garcia.

In a capital primed for military action, it was hard to know whether the news came as a relief or a frustration. In truth, probably both, as officials began once more to scrutinise the fine print of President Saddam's latest escape. The text of the letter arrived in Washington in the mid-morning, two hours after the bombers had been called back to base. As Mr Clinton and his advisers pored over the missive, signed by the Iraqi deputy prime minister, Tariq Aziz, they concluded that the supposed retreat was much less clear than Mr Annan had implied. There was anger against Mr Annan, who is seen by the more hawkish members of the administration as too compliant with Iraq to such crises. The problem was that the annex to the letter, which appeared to put forward conditions for Baghdad's co-operation, fell significantly short of the unequivocal retreat that Mr Berger and the US defence secretary, Bill Cohen, were urging Mr Clinton to insist on. Another call from Mr Clinton to Mr Blair followed. As the news of the military stand-down began to circulate at the UN in New York, the British and the Americans saw themselves beginning to lose control of the plot. France and Russia, who on Friday had maintained squarely that Baghdad was

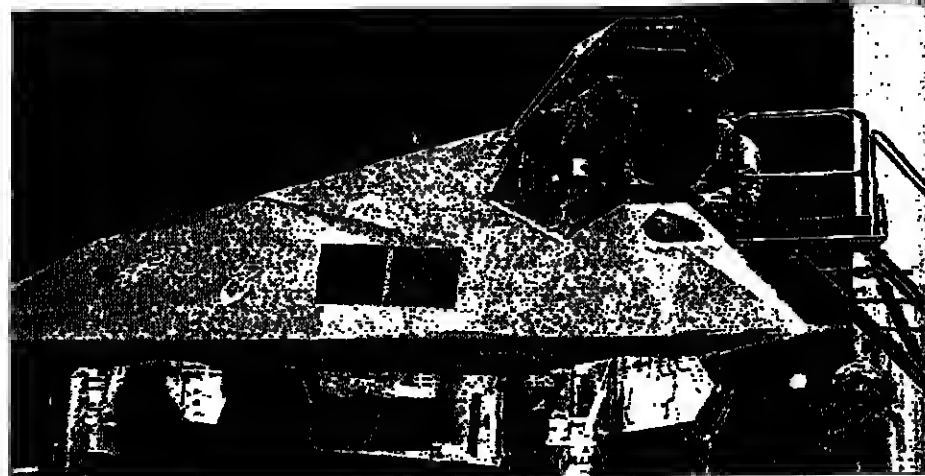
### The countdown

**Friday, November 13**  
1300 - Tony Blair issues authority in principle for the use of British forces against Iraq.  
That night, Mr Blair and President Clinton have a "lengthy" telephone conversation of more than an hour, to finalise attack plans.

**Saturday November 14**  
0930 - Waves of B-52 USAF bombers take off from Barksdale, Louisiana, heading for the Gulf, carrying air-launch cruise missiles. Eight US Navy vessels in the region stand ready to fire hundreds of Tomahawk sea-launch cruise missiles.  
1000 - Mr Blair issues formal authority for the use of RAF Tomahawks stationed in Iraq to fly

bombing runs inside Iraq.  
1400 (approx) - RAF Tomahawks are stood down, after it becomes clear that Iraq has failed to offer a "credible" response.  
Diplomats and officials begin to leave the White House in a period of frantic activity.  
1500 - Iraq's offer to allow UN weapons inspectors is broadcast.  
1630 - Downing Street announces that the letter from Baghdad, signed by Tariq Aziz, has been received. It is described as "unconditional".  
2030 - Mr Blair comes out into Downing Street to give his first response to the offer, saying the UN Security Council begins its deliberations.  
2245 - The White House rejects

"unacceptable" Iraqi offer.  
2300 - Almost constant telephone contact between White House and Downing Street.  
**Sunday November 15**  
0500 to 0700 - Mr Blair sleeps in the bed 15 miles he has fled to. He is joined by his wife, Patsy, and their children.  
1220 - Prime Minister's official spokesman declares details of the UN Security Council meeting on Iraq. Tomahawks would have killed 20 per cent of Iraq's armed forces, he says.  
2045 - Mr Blair ends press conference and says that US forces are ready to strike Iraq's military bases and infrastructure, and that the UN Security Council is "unacceptable".



A US pilot climbs into a Gulf-bound F-117 stealth fighter yesterday. PHOTOGRAPH: JEFF MITCHELL

responsible for the rapidly escalating crisis, both began to hint that the letter showed President Saddam's readiness to step back from a conflict.

"We were immediately suspicious because the letter was two pages with a two-page annex," said a Foreign Office official in London yesterday. "All it needed to say was that Iraq was complying immediately, unconditionally and fully. But there was a lot of verbiage. And that had to be cut through. We wanted to know whether these were conditions or aspirations."

It was a situation some at the White House had foreseen, as the US and the British began to make hard and fast plans for military action against Iraq late in October. Some of Mr Clinton's officials urged him to press ahead with strikes last week, to avoid the kind of entanglement that was now developing, with the US moving massive forces to the Gulf at the cost of more than \$900 million, only to have to bring them back again at the last minute. Mr Clinton rejected that advice, wanting more warships and planes in place before the attack, and nominating Saturday as his preferred date.

For 24 hours, it was the transatlantic influence dream come true for British diplomats, who had their closest and most intensive contacts with US decision-makers in years. The Americans, of course, made all the key decisions, since they were planning to launch all the assaults. British planes were to remain on the ground, mainly in Kuwait, during yesterday's missions. But Britain had a key role to play in "internationalising" the action, and in ensuring European agreement.

As well as speaking eight times with Mr Clinton, Mr Blair also rang his European Union allies, including the German chancellor, Gerhard Schröder, and President Jacques Chirac of France. Spain's prime minister, José María Aznar, Viktor Klima of Austria, and Italy's new prime minister, Massimo D'Alema, were also signed up.

Mr Schröder, the new kid on the block, was keen to be helpful. That may have restrained Mr Chirac, who has already been clear that he since Helmut Kohl's defeat. But there were larger reasons why France and the other two important sceptics on the UN Security Council, Russia and China, were less inclined to

warn against military action than to the past. In February, during the last Iraq crisis, the three powers had laid great store by Mr Annan's deal to give Uncom, the UN Special Commission, access to Iraqi weapons sites. President Saddam's failure to stand by that agreement made it harder to protest.

Military and intelligence liaison remained close between Washington and London, with special emphasis on the co-ordination of public positions, most strikingly on Friday in simultaneous statements by Robin Cook, the Foreign Secretary, and Mr Clinton which rejected the first signs of an Iraqi climbdown.

In Washington on Saturday, Mr Berger and the national security team met in a shambles session in the White House situation room. Consulting with London, they agreed to co-ordinate the political response. Mr Blair was to say in London that the letter did not go far enough, while Mr Berger went downstairs to the White House briefing room to deliver the same message. "The Iraqi letter sent today to general secretary Annan was neither unequivocal nor unconditional. It is unacceptable," he announced. "This will only set up a new crisis a few weeks down the road when the review does not meet Iraq's criteria." The letter, he said, contained "more holes than Swiss cheese".

Mr Berger then delivered the key message, certain that it would be instantly understood in Baghdad: "We were poised to take military action, and we remain poised to take military action."

The remarks had the desired effect. Less than an hour later, Nizar Hamdani, the Iraqi ambassador to the UN, emerged from his office to divorce the contents of the annex from the letter. The attachment consisted only of "talking points", he indicated. Iraq accepted that Mr Aziz's letter was the document that embodied the official position, and it was "unconditional and unequivocal".

Later on Saturday evening, Mr Hamdani put it in writing. Even then, the British and Americans pressed for a more authoritative signature. Two further letters clarified the Iraqi climbdown. It was these letters, Mr Clinton said yesterday, that tipped the balance. Addressing the press, the president said the three letters had

showed, first, that the annex was not a condition of its acceptance of UN demands; second, that the letters explicitly revoked the two Iraqi suspensions of co-operation with the Uncom inspectors; and third, that future co-operation with Uncom would be "unconditional and complete".

"Iraq has backed down, but that is not enough," Mr Clinton concluded. Both in Washington and in Whitehall, no one was rejoicing last night, certain that the crisis is likely to be replayed in months if not weeks, just as it was when Mr Annan's intervention averted air strikes in February.

"We will have to march the soldiers back up the hill in three months' time," said Tim Trewan, a former Uncom official. "I doubt whether this will last until January." Washington and London will now be urging Uncom to mount highly intrusive inspections, not just for days after its return, but for weeks and months. Since they stopped on October 31, no one doubts that the Iraqis will have removed and concealed both weapons and documents in their endless game of cat and mouse with the United Nations.

## Putting the accent on the positive

**Reaction: Signs of relief were prevalent, report Stuart Millar and David Sharrock**

**I**NTERNATIONAL reaction to Iraq's last-minute climbdown remained upbeat yesterday despite the continuing headline stance from Washington and London.

In the Middle East, Arab leaders breathed a collective sigh of relief after the immediate threat of air strikes appeared to have been lifted.

"The settlement of the crisis is not a question now. This is a positive step," said Esmat Abdel-Meguid, secretary-general of the 22-member Cairo-based Arab League.

"Iraq has stressed there are no conditions in the letter to Kofi Annan. We seek to clarify this to the parties which

have expressed reservation." The Egyptian foreign minister, Amr Moussa, said: "Now we are not talking about military strikes. We are talking about an exchange of views and letters and commitments. So we must give this process a chance. I believe this is a very important opening and the problem we hope will be defused."

After a two-day meeting of foreign ministers, Gulf Arab states also said they now did not expect Iraq would be "subjected to harm" as a result of the crisis.

That was borne out by the positive response from UN officials and permanent members of the Security



A British airman checks a Tornado in Kuwait yesterday, as Bill Clinton and Tony Blair (right) remained sceptical.

Council to Saddam's offer of compliance.

"The Russian government, which had evacuated 100 citizens from Baghdad as air strikes appeared inevitable, was the most confident that the need for military action had passed."

While the defence minister, Igor Sergeev, on a visit to Syria, said air strikes would be counter-productive, the

foreign minister, Igor Ivanov, said there were now good prospects for a political settlement.

Speaking after talks with the US secretary of state, Madeleine Albright, in Kuala Lumpur, he said: "The decisions taken by the Iraqi leadership and joint efforts of diplomacy have allowed a way to open an end to this worrying crisis."

Other permanent members were more guarded. The French president, Jacques Chirac, who is touring Central America, held a three-way conversation with Bill Clinton and Tony Blair on Saturday to evaluate Iraq's offer of compliance.

French officials said Paris saw Iraq's letter in a more positive light than Washington. Although keen to avoid a

split among Security Council members, the French authorities believe that if air strikes do go ahead, it will destroy the possibility of weapons inspectors being allowed back into Iraq.

China called for further diplomatic and political efforts to resolve the crisis. "We hope the Iraqi side will honour its pledges and sincerely implement all relevant

Security Council resolutions," said foreign ministry spokesman Tang Guoqiang.

"We also call on all relevant parties to continue political and diplomatic efforts to resolve the crisis as soon as possible."

The reaction from Germany was also positive. The foreign minister, Joschka Fischer, said yesterday he hoped Iraq's offer could solve



MAIN PHOTOGRAPH: GUSTAVO FERRARIS

the current crisis — but added that it would have to be studied carefully.

In a shorter than usual weekly address from the Vatican, the Pope said he had prayed for the key figures involved in the crisis, asking God to "illuminate their hearts and minds".

But with most Arab opinion-formers still convinced that Washington will settle for nothing less than removal of Saddam and a new Iraqi order in the short to medium term, few held out much hope that the US confrontation with Iraq would go away for very long.

"My advice would be for Saddam to open everything for inspection immediately and provide the US with an excuse to do what it really wants and get rid of him," said a senior Jordanian, speaking under condition of anonymity.

The sooner that sanctions are lifted the better, because the only thing that will ensure the chance for real change. America does not understand Iraq. Eight years ago they thought they had finished with the problem but Saddam is still there. Bush isn't and Thatcher isn't. How does he survive? Discipline."

The continuing tension prompted Saudi Arabia's defence minister, Prince Sultan, to announce that the kingdom would not allow its territory and military bases — where up to 5,000 US troops and some 100 warplanes are stationed — to be used to launch strikes against Iraq.



Kofi Annan... another success. PHOTOGRAPH: DAVID KARP

## How the UN Secretary-General made war impossible

**Ian Black**  
Diplomatic Editor

**I**F there was one moment when the Iraq crisis started heading for a peaceful solution, it was on Saturday afternoon when the United Nations Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, announced on CNN that, as far as he was concerned, Saddam Hussein had backed down.

The world's diplomatic in-chief thus served notice to both Washington and London, still deeply sceptical about the Iraqi leader's intentions, that the war clouds were dis-

persing. At that point, it would have been very hard to send in the bombers.

Mr Annan was in Morocco when the crisis entered its most dangerous stage last Wednesday with the decision to pull out all UN weapons inspectors — widely seen as the prelude to American-led air strikes.

He then issued what was billed as a "personal appeal" to President Saddam to return to full compliance with international demands or accept the inevitability of military action.

"That was the last shot in the locker," one key diplomat said at the time. "Now there

isn't that much left." So on the face of it, the softly spoken Ghanaian had been relegated to the sidelines when he flew back to New York on Thursday. The US and Britain had already won their case. They wanted him to go back to Baghdad, where his 11th-hour deal averted military action in February.

But in the dramatic 24 hours between Friday and Saturday afternoons, Mr Annan returned to centre stage. By publicly welcoming Iraq's climbdown, he reassured the role of the UN in this crisis — and highlighted the permanent tension between his role as a

sort of secular pope and the servant of the security council, the UN's "top table".

His remarks on Saturday were quickly echoed by France, Russia, China and Arab states who had feared a Western strike on Iraq could destabilise both the country and the region.

The US and Britain were furious. In London, officials suggested Mr Annan may have made a slip of the tongue under pressure, though some saw a deliberate attempt to divert the hawks by backing Baghdad. Mr Annan later remained silent as the security council discussed Iraq's res-

ponse and the two subsequent clarifications that were added to it. But he made no secret of his personal hope for a diplomatic solution. UN officials expressed dismay that military action seemed imminent.

Ironically, Mr Annan is the most pro-American secretary-general ever and was Washington's clear favourite when he succeeded the haughty Boutros Boutros Ghali last year. A UN official for 30 years, he seemed a gifted bureaucrat, administrator, and diplomat, though not a leader. His internal reforms have gone a long way to appeasing the US administration, under pressure

from a hostile Congress, and he has made progress towards recovering some of the \$1 billion (\$225 million) debts in unpaid US dues.

Yet Iraq has been a source of constant irritation. He has appeared unwilling to deal with what looks like a poisoned chalice and joked that he did not stand for secretary-general, but scapegoat.

Asked before he left for Baghdad last February whether he was ruthless enough to deal with President Saddam, he said he did not know whether ruthlessness was what was required to get a solution.

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## Hunt for family of spinster who left £7m but no will

Helen Carter

A GENEALOGIST has been brought in to track down relatives of a Scottish spinster who died last November leaving £7 million — but no will.

Helen Lowe, who was 99 and from Edinburgh, had never married. She never recovered from losing her sweetheart in the first world war.

Miss Lowe had a reputation as a feisty pioneer, who was one of Scotland's first female chartered accountants when she set up her own business 70 years ago. In the months before she died, she was still advising clients about their financial affairs.

The daughter of a Berwickshire coal merchant, she accumulated her wealth through stocks and shares and she also owned a number of properties in Edinburgh. Two buildings she bought in a prestigious square are now worth more than £1 million each.

Her second cousin, Andrew Lowe, who is an executor of her estate, said relatives had already been found in Britain, Canada,



Wealthy accountant Helen Lowe ignored solicitors' pleas to make a will, while advising her own clients on their finances

South Africa and Australia.

He thinks it will be a long time before the genealogist is able to disentangle the family tree and locate everyone.

"We have unearthed a number of relatives already and no doubt there are many more to come," he said. "It is going to take a lot of time and effort."

Mr Lowe, who is in his

70s, is baffled why his second cousin did not leave a will, as she was always well organised.

"We simply can't work it out," he said. "We haven't all over the house and all we found were letters from her solicitors pleading with her to make a will and sign it."

"We all knew she was rich, maybe even a million-

aire, but nobody suspected she was worth this."

He said she continued to work up until her death and described her as bright as a button. "She wasn't frugal as much as canny."

She had a native Scottish driving power and ambition that would make her buckle down to a challenge, and it was a challenge in those days to become a pro-

fessional woman — her parents were scandalised — but maybe it was to get over a broken heart."

She also threw her energy into charitable work, notably for Edinburgh Royal Infirmary, Help the Aged, and the Scottish Women's Rural Institute and was awarded an MBE in 1964 for her work with Leith Old People's Welfare Council.

## Grammar school war hots up as two switch status

Rebecca Smithers  
Education Correspondent

TWO elite Bristol grammar schools have been given the green light to go comprehensive by the Government after ministers backed parents' plans to abolish their selective status.

Cotham Grammar and Fairfield Grammar will switch in 2000 after a long campaign by parents that previously had been dismissed by Conservative ministers.

The move is seen by many as the first shots in a war over the role of the remaining 164 grammar schools in the state system. New rules, set to pass through Parliament this week, will give parents the power to force a ballot to facilitate their schools switching from grammar to comprehensive; a petition of a fifth of parents in affected areas will trigger such a ballot.

However, in areas where under a quarter of the schools are selective only parents from "feeder" primary schools will be eligible to vote. These parents are likely to want to the change, which has been frustrated by the grammar schools' highly selective admissions that suck bright children from outside catchment areas.

Resentment has been building up in prime middle-class target areas such as Kent, which has 39 grammar schools — nearly a quarter of the country's grammar



David Blunkett (left) is said to prefer grammar schools being turned into comprehensives but has relented because the Government feared bad publicity

schools. Also vulnerable is Birmingham, where there are 200 secondary schools and fierce competition for entry into eight grammar schools. Barnet, in north London, Buckinghamshire and Lancashire, are also vulnerable. But some of the first ballots could occur in areas where there is just one grammar school, such as at Ripon in North Yorkshire.

David Blunkett, the Education Secretary, has supported parental right schools' status, though he has faced opposition to his plans to cut grammar schools. The outcome, is, say critics, "fudged".

Roy Hattersley, former Labour deputy leader and an active member of the Campaign for State Education group, warns of the loophole in the regulations that will ensure the survival of grammar schools. He has said that

Mr Blunkett would "prefer grammar schools to be turned into comprehensives" but had relented because the Government feared the bad publicity.

Despite this, pro-grammar school activists say that the new rules will lead to long standing centres of academic excellence being phased out for the sake of it.

Magaret Dewar, a former chair of the National Grammar School Association, said the "country's 150,000 grammar school parents should march on Downing St".

Yesterday the shadow education spokesman Damian Green said there would not be much support for ballots. "There is huge support for grammar schools. But if ballots were to go ahead, there would have to be a huge reorganisation of local schools which would be both costly and disruptive."

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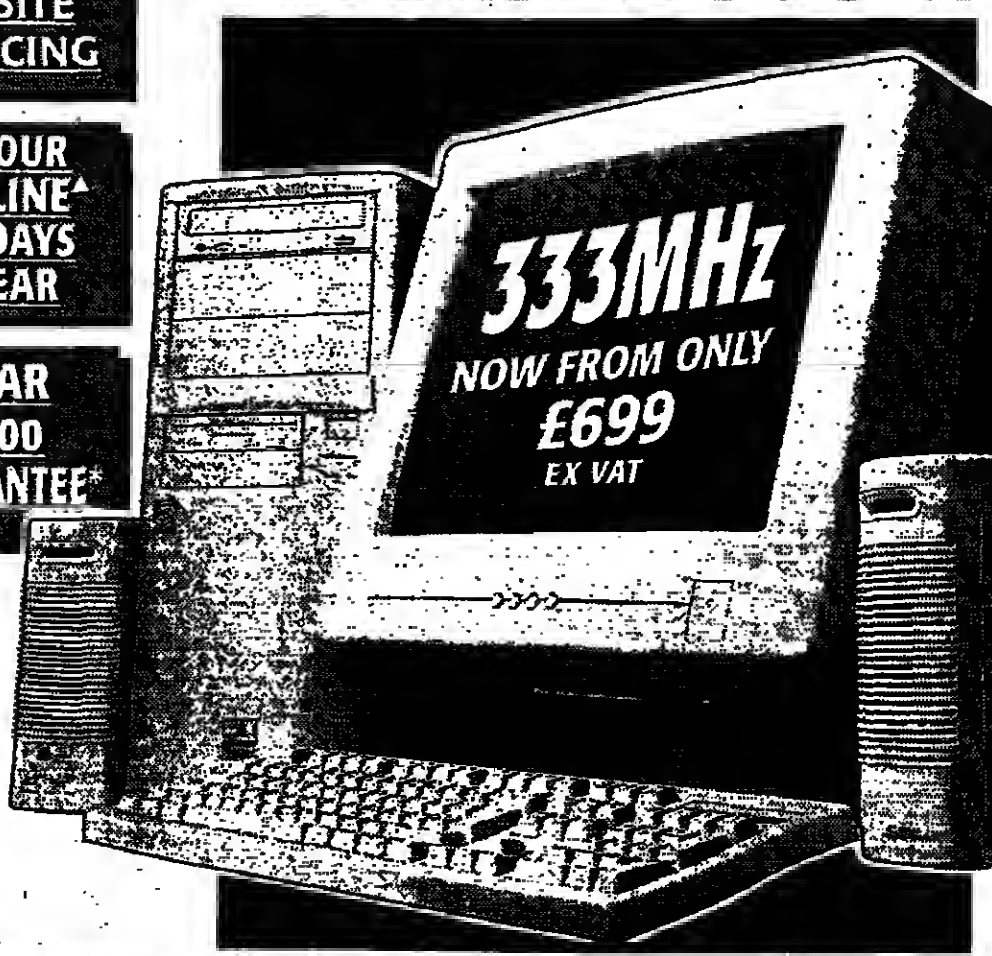
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# PC WORLD

THE COMPUTER SUPERSTORE

## Girls gripped by worry over looks

Helen Carter

TEENAGE girls have such a poor self-image that many worry about their appearance more than anything else in their lives.

Weight and appearance are by far the main concerns for girls, eclipsing family problems, difficulties with friends, health, careers and school, according to an Exeter university survey.

"For girls, worrying about the way you look is not just top of the list, it is markedly higher than anything else," said researcher John Balding.

"The overwhelming majority of those who say they wish to lose weight have no medical weight problem at all, and some are underweight."

"The most important worry for females is how they look and that is linked to worry about weight."

Researchers from the Schools Health Education Unit questioned 37,000 children aged 12-15, and concluded that girls were much more worried about their weight and appearance than boys.

Among girls of 14 and 15, 57.5 per cent named the way they look as the biggest concern in their lives. In contrast, only 28.2 per cent of teenage boys said it was their main concern. A further 31.6 per cent of boys said they had no worries at all.

Researchers found there was no significant difference in weight between teenage girls who worried about being fat. Those with low self-esteem were more likely to worry about their weight and diet.

Among girls aged 12 to 13, 38 per cent of those with low self-esteem were weight watchers, compared with 38 per cent of those happier about their appearance.

The study concluded that to help counter the problem, a greater diversity of body shapes among actresses and models needed to be seen on television and in newspapers.

Stuart Miller

GRAHAM Rix, the Chelsea coach and former England star, has been charged with having sex with an under-age girl, it emerged yesterday.

Rix, aged 41, is alleged to have had unlawful sexual intercourse with the 15-year-old at his club's hotel, the Novotel in Hammersmith, west London, on or before February 27 — the night before Chelsea's home defeat against Manchester United.

He also faces three charges of indecently assaulting the girl, who is now 16. He has been bailed to appear before magistrates on December 22. Scotland Yard confirmed yesterday.

The first charge of indecent assault relates to an occasion on January 6, another is alleged to have taken place between January 8 and January 30 and the last on February 27 this year.

The investigation into Rix's alleged liaison with the girl, who cannot be named, began in August after her father complained to police. On September 23 he was arrested and questioned over the girl's claims. Detectives are be-



Graham Rix: girl's father complained to police

lieved to be planning to question Chelsea's Uruguayan midfielder Gustavo Poyet and two other players about whether they saw anything at the hotel.

Police, who are also taking evidence from Rix's friends and family, stressed there was no suggestion that Poyet or the other players were involved.

Rix, who was capped 17 times for England before joining Chelsea as youth coach in 1988, has been married to his wife Gill for 19 years, but last year the marriage hit difficulties.

“One's aim must always be perfection with the secret hope that one never makes it. Perfection to me is death. It's nothing.”  
Peter Ustinov interviewed



# Jakarta awaits showdown

John Gittings and  
John Agnionby in Jakarta

**N**O ONE in Jakarta expected the police shields stacked up yesterday outside the parliament building to remain out of use for long. But while preparing for renewed confrontation, none of the parties seemed able to predict the outcome.

The death toll from Friday's killings by soldiers shooting on unarmed anti-government demonstrators rose by last night to 18, with more than 400 wounded. The Jakarta Post summed up the mood with a front-page montage of a young man reeling backwards in the sights of a gun, beneath the words "Shock, Grief, Anger".

Yet the position of the defence minister and armed forces commander, General Wiranto, appears to have been strengthened with President B.J. Habibie ordering him to "take stern action" against those allegedly seeking to topple the government. In a national address on Saturday night, Mr Habibie accused "certain parties" of subversion and "trying to endanger the unity of the nation and the people".

As if to back up the point, Indonesia's military moved yesterday to detain several prominent government critics. A retired lieutenant-general, Kemal Idris, the leader of an outspoken group called Barisan Nasional, was picked up at his home by police. A fellow member, Ali Sedikin, also a retired lieutenant-general and former Jakarta governor — was summoned for questioning.

Sri Bintang Pamungkas, an opposition politician who led a peaceful demonstration of tens of thousands of students outside the parliament on Saturday, said he had been arrested for incitement and other things. "But all I was doing was trying to say something and use my freedom to speak about the need for reform."

On Saturday, Hariadi Darmawan, who initiated the opposition National Reform Movement, was interrogated for 13 hours and a National Front member, Rob Basoeki Mangopoerolo, was questioned for 5½ hours. Both were released without charge. At least four of those arrested are among the 17 political figures who signed a document on Thursday that rejected a special parliamentary session that met last week to pass new political laws. The cycle of demonstrations began as a protest against this parliamentary session, seen as offering little genuine change. The 17 called



An armoured vehicle in Jakarta yesterday after the government deployed more troops in anticipation of renewed rioting

PHOTOGRAPH: MANDEL NGAN

ment on Thursday that rejected a special parliamentary session that met last week to pass new political laws. The cycle of demonstrations began as a protest against this parliamentary session, seen as offering little genuine change. The 17 called

**'All students are now united and the protests are going to get bigger'**

for the creation of a presidential to replace the government of President Habibie until a general election could be held.

Jakarta's streets, usually teeming with traffic and pedestrians on Sundays, were practically deserted yesterday as people feared the start of a military crackdown.

Roads leading to the presidential palace were still blocked by troops in light tanks and armoured personnel carriers, while hundreds of marines — the only branch of the military enjoying some trust among Indonesians because they are deemed sympathetic to the pro-democracy movement — were deployed around the city.

They intervened several times to defuse violent situations, as they had done in the May demonstrations that forced the former dictator, Suharto, from power.

The green berets of the Strategic Reserve are regarded with as much loathing as when they were commanded by Suharto's son-in-law, General Prabowo, and are have been blamed for Friday's killings. Student leaders believe

there is a protracted struggle ahead. "We have to preserve our stamina," said Rakhmad Dewanto, a student leader from the University of Indonesia. "This is going to be a very long haul and so we have to pace ourselves. All students are now united and so the protests are going to get much bigger."

They acknowledge that they are politically diverse, but say that their lack of centralised structure will help them to survive repression.

Though some observers believe that Friday's killings should be attributed to military incompetence and indiscipline, the students accuse Gen Wiranto of being personally responsible. They point to the statement he made hours before the shooting, insisting that "Jakarta is safe and under control".

Moderate politicians are appalled by Mr Habibie's move.

"He has put his own position on the line by giving the chief of armed forces full powers," a Golkar party leader said.

He said that the government's only chance of clearing the air would be to "come out with a clarification of what happened". But with Mr

**'President has put himself on the line by giving the army chief full powers'**

Habibie now tied closely to his military chief, there is even less chance of holding a proper inquiry.

There is a sense of hopelessness: Mr Habibie has no choice but to retain Gen Wiranto, even though that will only make things worse for

him. The events of the past few days have demonstrated more clearly than he would have wished the president's dependence upon the armed forces.

The anguish over what is being called "Black Friday" has distracted attention from the detail of the decrees adopted by the parliament, which failed to meet student demands for removing the army from politics.

The final version of the 12th decree merely refers to an "adjustment" of the military's dual role in security and government. Another decree referred to the need to "deal firmly with" rather than prosecute corruption and nepotism from the Suharto regime.

The critical question now being asked is whether the events of the last week will slow or hasten the process of demilitarising Indonesia's political culture.

## Yard asked to help prove Israelis were spying

Chris Drake in Larnaca and  
Helen Prusker in Jerusalem

**B**ITISH police have been asked to assist in investigating an alleged Israeli spy mission in Cyprus which has damaged the reputation of the Mossad intelligence service and embarrassed the Israeli government.

A Cyprus court heard yesterday that Scotland Yard has been contacted in an attempt to trace phone calls from Britain to mobile phones carried by two Israelis — Udi Argov

and Ig'el Damari — said by Cypriot police to be Mossad agents. Israel has not denied this claim. The district court in Larnaca yesterday extended the men's detention order for five more days.

Phonecalls traced so far include several to an intelligence institute in Tel Aviv. The phones used a billing address in England and one in Holland.

Mr Argov and Mr Damari were arrested last weekend. The court heard that a search of their holiday apartment uncovered a sophisticated radio scanner used to tune in

to military and police frequencies, tape recordings of police radio conversations. They were seen near Cypriot military installations and it is alleged that they may have been trying to establish if any parts of a Russian-made missile defence system have arrived on the island.

Officially, the system is not supposed to be ready for delivery until next month and there are unconfirmed reports that the Greek Cypriot-led administration will bow to international pressure and cancel the deal.

The incident is sensitive because Turkey, which occupies the northern part of the island, has repeatedly threatened to destroy the missiles. Turkey now has a military agreement with Israel.

Greek Cypriots were particularly angered by the comments of Israel's prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, who vowed to bring the two Israelis home.

Even more embarrassing, the men arrived just days after President Ezer Weizman had completed the first visit by an Israeli head of state since Cyprus won independence from Britain in 1960.



Arrested in Cyprus: alleged Mossad agents Udi Argov (left) and Ig'el Damari



Arrested in Cyprus: alleged Mossad agents Udi Argov (left) and Ig'el Damari

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### News in brief

#### Troops expel Serb extremist

British troops with the multinational peacekeeping force in Bosnia expelled the leader of the extremist Serbian Radical Party at the weekend, fearing his presence would upset the republic's fragile peace, writes Chris Bird in Belgrade.

Vojislav Seselj, deputy prime minister of neighbouring Yugoslavia, was handed a letter ordering him to quit the country immediately from the Western-run administration which in effect runs Bosnia.

#### Governor defeated

Masahide Ota, governor of Japan's southern island of Okinawa, was beaten in his attempt to win re-election by Kichiji Inamine, an adviser to a group of local business leaders. Much of the campaign had centred on the issue of the US military presence on the island. Mr Ota had rejected a government plan to build a floating helicopter port off the Okinawan coast, and wanted the US troops moved to another part of the country. — AP.

#### Boost for Anwar

Ignoring warnings not to meddle in Malaysian affairs, the US secretary of state, Madeleine Albright, yesterday met Azizah Ismail, wife of the former deputy prime minister Anwar Ibrahim. Ms Albright called Mr Anwar, who is in jail on corruption and sexual misconduct charges, a "highly respected leader". — AP.

## S African papers deny racism

David Beresford  
in Johannesburg

**A**N angry squabble has broken out between South African newspaper editors and a human rights watchdog over allegations of racism in the media.

The country's highest-selling newspaper, the Sunday Times, yesterday accused the Human Rights Commission (HRC) of bias and said it was neither empowered, nor equipped, to carry out a planned investigation into racism in the media industry.

The row, which has wider political ramifications, followed a charge by the Black Lawyers Association and the Association of Black Accountants that two newspapers — the Sunday Times and the daily Mail & Guardian — were guilty of "subliminal racism" and "violating the rights of black people to equality".

They complained to the HRC that black — as opposed to white — corruption got disproportionate coverage.

The Mail & Guardian, in which the Guardian has a controlling interest, ridiculed the claim, saying that it amounted to a demand that newspapers ration their coverage of corruption cases on a basis of racial demography. The Sunday Times suggested the aim was to cover up corruption.

The HRC last week rejected the complaint by the black lawyers and accountants, ruling that "the issue of racism in the media is not confined to two newspapers only". But it announced that it would launch a wider inquiry into the media as a whole.

The governing African National Congress has shown itself schizophrenic about corruption in public life.

The government has taken an aggressive stance on corruption, introducing codes of conduct for public representatives and government officials, and staging an anti-corruption "summit".

At the same time it has failed to accept accountability for government scandals, accusing its critics — particularly the media and predominantly white opposition parties — of racial motives.

Black sensitivities were piqued again on Friday when the Mail & Guardian accused the country's black Public Protector, Selby Bagwa, of trying to shield the black vice-chancellor of a polytechnic from corruption charges.

Simultaneously a white judge, Willem Huishe, heading an inquiry into corruption, said he was bringing legal action against the minister of health, Mosisoana Zuma, demanding she repay £1 million to the state which her department had "negligently, or recklessly" spent on an anti-Aids play.

## European Union debates education

The EU today threw its member states into some confusion about the long-term future of its proposed education policy. Education ministers met today in Brussels to thrash out a compromise which should see the primary, secondary, and further education sectors implement a common curriculum by the next

be centred around the fact, previously unnoticed, by high-up EU sources, that different countries actually speak different languages. The proposed curriculum has had to be drastically re-written.

From nursery to university, the EU would have the same lessons at the same time. It was further proposed that all teachers would be based in Munich at a virtual 'edu-centre' and conduct all lessons according to a central timetable. The 300 million pupils across the EU would

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speaking English, another I personally feel that the use of mine is a viable option although for the common of the more branches of pure mathematics or astrophysics, the prove more difficult.

However, trials are underway involving groups and circus acrobats to see if quantum mechanics and string theory are teachable by people with black leotards and sad and happy faces. Results have not been aging especially in the of Lvov where three were accidentally let rush hour and caused a momentum in the commercial district.

Sir Neil Burrows, wine chairman of the T. Club for all

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## Rebel seeks Italian haven

Foreign staff

ITALY came under intense pressure yesterday to extradite Turkey's most wanted man as more than 1,000 Kurds held a counter-demonstration in Rome demanding asylum for the guerrilla leader.

Abdullah Ocalan, leader of the PKK, the Kurdish separatist party in Turkey, is believed to have been taken ill shortly after his arrest on Thursday and was taken to Celio military hospital. Italian officials have refused to confirm his whereabouts.

In a letter in the Italian newspaper La Repubblica yesterday, Mr Ocalan said that his mission was "not war but dialogue with Turkey, Europe and the United States. What we have done is maybe a little premature, but it is a political step towards opening dialogue for peace."

Mr Ocalan has led a 14-year campaign for self-rule in mainly Kurdish southeast Turkey, in one of the most violent conflicts to have troubled the region. Some 29,000 people have died in clashes between his supporters and Turkish security forces.

Italy's communist Justice Minister Oliviero Diliberto, has 10 days to confirm Mr Ocalan's arrest. If he does, he then has to decide on Turkey's extradition request.

Several senior members of Italy's month-old government, which includes Marxist ministers for the first time in 50 years, are in favour of granting Mr Ocalan asylum.

The legal wrangle over Mr Ocalan's fate is complicated because Italy abolished the death penalty after the second world war and the constitution forbids extradition to countries such as Turkey where the death penalty is still in force.

An added complication was the seizure by Turkish prisoners in an Istanbul jail of an Italian inmate in a bid to force Mr Ocalan's extradition. One prisoner said the Italian would be held hostage until Italy agreed to hand over the Kurdish guerrilla.

Several hundred Kurds were seen crossing the border from Switzerland near the northern city of Como in cars and buses on their way to Rome to join the demonstration outside Celio hospital.

More than 1,000 Kurds also marched through Bonn in support of Mr Ocalan.



Karr Farnsworth, whose Utah-based group runs the Morava Academy in Brno, faces questions at the institution where children were allegedly threatened with the guard dog (right). Since the school was closed, families have been arriving to take children back to the US (far right). PHOTOGRAPH: JUDITH DUBOIS



## Americans 'tortured children' in Czech home for teenagers

Kate Connolly in Brno

AN American couple who ran a youth correction centre in the Czech Republic have been charged with torturing and illegally imprisoning the 57 children in their care.

Allegations of physical and psychological ill-treatment at Morava Academy just outside the southern city of Brno were made by former employees and led to a month-long police investigation.

Glenda and Steven Roach, aged 41 and 52, both former police officers from St George in Utah, were arrested last week, along with two Czech colleagues, Brno police said. If found guilty, they face between two and eight years in prison.

Pupils of the academy — mainly Americans — have

been questioned by police. The 15- to 18-year-olds, described as "troubled teenagers" by the academy management, have told of abuse, including being placed in solitary confinement for weeks, being handcuffed and tied up, and forced to lie on the floor all day. Some pupils allegedly had to defecate on the floor because their toilet visits were restricted by staff.

"These children were sent here by their legal guardians and held against their will," said Petr Netik, head of the Brno police organised crime unit. "They were given no psychological or medical help during their stay."

He said he would contact the FBI about the possibility of prosecuting parents who may have broken the law in the United States by forcing their children into the academy.

Morava Academy, a former hotel surrounded by a forest and a lake, is run by the Utah-based company Worldwide Association of Specialty Programs. The institution, which opened in January, is part of an international chain of "teenage help" schemes. It

**'The children were sent here by their guardians and held against their will'**

charges \$1,790 (\$1,070) per pupil per month.

Police are also investigating claims of financial impropriety under which children were deprived of pocket money.

"They were supposed to

receive \$80 a month, but were given 120 Czech crowns (\$240) and told that was the correct conversion," Mr Netik said.

A 34-year-old teacher, Hana Simonova, was sacked from the academy last month after reporting her concerns to the Prague-based child protection agency, White Circle.

She talked of children being locked in padded rooms with whitewashed windows and of one girl being fed sandwiches for two months as a punishment for bad behaviour.

She also said that unruly children were threatened with the school's guard dog. "We had a menu of punishments to give out for various 'crimes'," she said.

"And for every thing a child did wrong there was a financial penalty attached to the parents' bill at the end of the month, plus the restric-

tion of privileges for the children," she added.

Penalties started at 30p for forgetting a schoolbook. Pupils misbehaving in class would be sat upon by staff.

But parents who have been arriving from all over the US to collect their children defended the Roaches.

"They are totally on our side in our efforts to give structure to our kids' lives," said Gita from Los Angeles, who has a 15-year-old daughter at Morava. "We sent our kids here to live in a healthy environment and to learn self-love. We have made great efforts to send them here, reformatting our houses and giving up our pension plans."

Jo Ellen from Anchorage, Alaska, said her 17-year-old daughter had been placed in solitary confinement, but she had "requested to go there to sort herself out."



The mothers said their children's behaviour had undergone "miraculous" transformations thanks to the academy's "structured and loving" programme. One of the children, James from San Francisco, said last week: "This place changed my life overnight. For the first time in my life I have a sense of self-worth and I'm going to be really sad when they close it down."

A third of the children have been sent home and some are

being cared for by Brno social services.

The Roaches, a Mormon couple, have returned to the academy after being given bail.

Karr Farnsworth, the president of the Worldwide Association of Specialty Programs, said in Brno: "Obviously our rules and the laws of the Czech Republic are incompatible and as long as our programme is not welcomed here we will be forced to move elsewhere."

## Corking time for experts as Burgundy vineyards celebrate

Jon Henley in Beaune

AS they have on the third Sunday in November for 138 years, wine-buyers from around the globe rolled happily into the ancient city of Beaune yesterday to eat vast amounts of food and reassure themselves that, as always, Burgundy wine prices are going up.

Early bidding in the Hospices de Beaune sale —

billed as the world's largest annual charity auction, traditionally setting the tone for wine prices and the mood of the French nation — valued the 1998 vintage at nearly 25 per cent more than last year's near-record.

"It's perfect," said Marc Jambon, president of the BIVB Burgundy Wine Board. "These are good prices and they'll probably go up a bit more. It surprises me every year, but

the fact is that to buy wine of this quality one really has to be slightly mad."

The 138th Vente des Vins des Hospices de Beaune drew experts and freeloaders from Europe, the United States and Asia for a weekend of unabashed excess.

Trundling from feast to banquet, digestive systems trying to cope with three six-course meals and 18 different wines in 36 hours, their real work was to snap up 577 barrels of some of

the world's finest, most expensive, wines — international superstars such as Meursault, Montrachet, Pommard, Corton, Vougeot and Volnay.

One portly New York buyer said: "There aren't many places where you can get away with abusing yourself like this. Here they don't even give you the option."

The wines themselves, all produced by the Hospices de Beaune's winemakers,

are sold by the 228-litre barrel, the equivalent of just over 300 bottles. All proceeds go to the hospital, which as a result offers the cheapest, most advanced health care in France.

Last year's sale raised \$2.36 million, the most expensive harvest fetching \$15,200 — just over \$50 a bottle. If it reached your local off-licence, it would cost at least twice as much. But this was a Batard Montrachet, probably one of the

world's top three white wines.

The BIVB described the reds as having "delectable rustic tannins, highly interesting aromas of peony, lilac and black cherry, and a wholly admirable ruby colouration". The whites, although "not particularly well-endowed in terms of volume", were "expressive and gratifying, clear and honest, with no hint of a false note".

Industry experts predict prices for all Burgundy wines — those produced by the Hospices de Beaune are only 1,000th of the 180 million bottles sold in 1997-98 — will rise by as much as 20 per cent for the better-known labels over the next two years.

"There's always rather a lot of drunkenness, of course," agreed the town's chief of police at a pre-auction banquet. "But it's OK. It's Burgundy wine, not alcohol."

# California's unquenchable thirst

## WATER

Divisions can emerge not only between nations but within them. In California's south, Christopher Reed reports on a giant project that seems to ignore past lessons. Below, Pakistan's regions seethe with jealousy over a dam plan

"Whisky's for drinkin', water's for fightin'." — Attributed to Mark Twain

IN WHAT is being branded by environmentalists the final giant folly of California's water wars, the largest civil engineering project in the United States is being gouged from arid land in the south of the state to provide "dependable" supplies into the 21st century.

In a vast manmade bowl near the town of Hemet, hundreds of workers are using earth movers as high as houses night and day to dam three valleys in the 2,000ft-high mountains to create a lake 4.5 miles long and more than 3 miles wide. One dam will be 280ft high and another more than 2 miles long.

The most remarkable feature of the dams creating the Eastside reservoir is that no river is being blocked off: no natural water exists in the Dominguez and Diamond valleys that the reservoir straddles. Instead, the giant pool will be filled from two existing aqueducts, one that carries water in from the much-siphoned Colorado river 242 miles to the east, and the other starting 444 miles away in the wetter north of the state, which is a resentful supplier.

The flow starts late next year. The reservoir will take four years to fill, and contain enough water to supply 160,000 families for a year — although with summer tem-

peratures approaching 38C (100F), enough will evaporate to supply a city of 30,000.

These are the sort of statistics that thrilled a previous generation of Americans when it seemed everything could be "fixed" and size was unlimited — an era that produced the Hoover dam and turned the mighty Colorado into a muddy trickle at its mouth.

The purpose of the new reservoir, costing more than \$2 billion (\$1.2 billion), is to store water for southern California, particularly San Diego, in drought years.

The trouble is that no one can predict droughts in a region of mostly real or semi-desert that has less than 20ins of rain a year. In the reservoir's scrubland area, the average is only 12ins. Even the term "average" is meaningless in southern California. Rainfall can vary widely from year to year. In 1977, 12ins fell, but 33ins fell a year later (an inch above western England's average that year).

Tree rings show the longest drought lasting from 1760 to 1820. A repeat would depopulate modern southern California, forcing 80 per cent of the population to leave the area if the Colorado dried up.

Environmentalists say the region can only support half of those who live here already and that the new reservoir is another example of decades of huge water projects that ignore nature's long-term realities. The result has been a series of disasters — di-

## Dammed or damned?

A great technical achievement that will guarantee water supplies for the next century — or a mammoth folly doomed to failure?



Eastside reservoir

The construction of three dams will create a reservoir 4.5 miles long and over 3 miles wide. It will take four years to build and contain enough water to supply 160,000 families for a year at a cost of \$2 billion. But in the summer, evaporation will waste enough water to supply a city of 30,000 people.

verted rivers have taken revenge, reservoirs silted up, and irrigated land gone salted — which have triggered the state's water wars, pitting cities against farms, north

against south, engineers against environmentalists.

When the Colorado flooded a basin during attempts to irrigate a border valley in 1905 it took three years and 200,000

railway wagons carrying landfill sludge to push the river back to its source. Today the Imperial Valley is a cornucopia, but the Salton Sea remains, a purifying, sa-

linated deathtrap for birds that is costing \$380 million to clean.

Residents of Owens Valley, east of the Sierra Nevada, still resent the notorious theft of

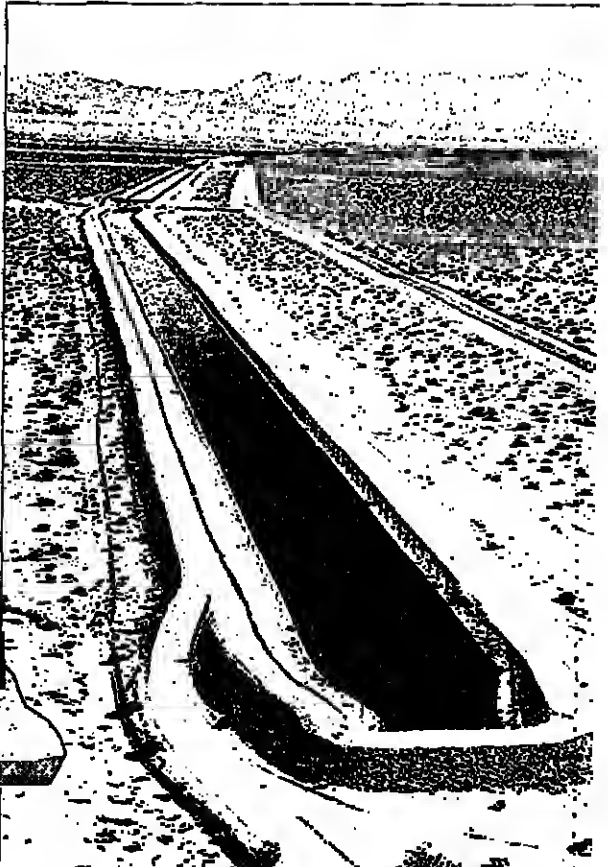
their river by Los Angeles, which in the biggest engineering project of its time built a pipeline 223 miles long in 1913 to divert the water.

This murky story provided the background for the 1974 Hollywood film Chinatown, but the movie did not portray the guerrilla tactics of the Owensites, who hewed up the pipeline 11 times between 1924 and 1931.

Today the lake drained by that project is the most particulate-polluted in the US. Los Angeles has also lost water from threatened Mono Lake, further north.

The state's worst water disaster occurred in 1926 when the St Francis dam north of LA broke, flooding the town of Santa Paula and cutting a 2-mile-wide swath 70 miles to the Pacific. A total of 450 people were killed.

The main Eastside reservoir dam has been built to withstand a tremor of up to 7.5 on the Richter scale, simi-



lar to the one that wrecked San Francisco in 1906. The nearest fault line is only 5 miles away, and the notorious San Andreas fault lies 17 miles to the south.

Because no rivers are dammed by the reservoir, there has been little opposition to the project, although the Dominguez farming family won \$47 million compensation from the project's builders, the Metropolitan Water District.

The "Met" had hoped the project would be a palliative in the two-year war between LA and San Diego over water distribution. But Eastside has already gone \$200 million over cost, and San Diego will have to bear a quarter of that.

San Diego, whose economic ambitions depend on more water, also worries that Eastside will not be able to quench its thirst during the reservoir's years of filling up.

Another water war may be in the offing.

## Sharif wades deep into controversy

WHEN Pakistan's prime minister, Nawaz Sharif, revived a moribund project to build another dam on the Indus river last summer, he could hardly have foreseen the extreme passions stirred by the hugely expensive project, writes Suzanne Goldenberg.

For the people of Sind and North-West Frontier Province, the dam has crystallised resentment against the country's richest and most powerful province, Punjab. It has also been

taken as potent evidence by those who allege that Mr Sharif is favouring his home province.

Pakistan first considered building the Kalabagh dam, which would stem the flow of the Indus near the town of Mianwali in northern Punjab province, in 1954. But construction was stalled because the costs were prohibitive.

According to the most recent estimates, the dam will cost \$9 billion (\$5.4 billion), an impossible expenditure for a country already

in technical default on its international loan commitments. It will also submerge huge swaths of Sind and North-West Frontier Province, displacing as many as 400,000 people.

In August, the country's opposition leader, Benazir Bhutto, led tens of thousands of farmers in a protest against the dam, a project that has become hugely divisive in a country already prone to instability.

Mr Sharif revived the Kalabagh project in the summer, apparently as a way of

distracting attention from the hardships resulting from foreign sanctions after his government carried out nuclear tests last May.

While the project is mainly intended to increase electricity supply in a country where power cuts are common, it is also intended to irrigate arid southern Punjab, enabling farmers to grow rich on cotton and wheat. That is what has proved so galling for the North-West Frontier people who have little arable land and few irrigation canals.



# Comment

## e-mail

Suzanne  
Goldenberg  
@Kandahar

ONCE he sang of love and moonlit nights, in a voice so tender that audiences lolled on the customary bolsters would sweep their arms towards the stage and bend their heads in appreciation.

That was in the days of music. Nowadays, instruments are banned in Kandahar, as in most of Afghanistan, because the Taliban militia believes a mind drawn to beauty can easily wander into sin.

And so while musicians fled or fell silent, one of Afghanistan's most popular practitioners of the *ghazal*, or love ballad, became a songbird of the Taliban. Two years on, Naimatullah Kandahari — as is the custom for poets and singers, he has added the city of his birth to his name — has recorded more than a dozen cassettes of the Pashtu-language martial tunes that, along with Koranic verses, are the only music sanctioned by the Taliban. There are no concerts.

Album number 11 was released last month. It joins a galaxy of Taliban offerings on display in a tiny shop in Kandahar, the southern city that is the stronghold of the Islamic movement. All the cassettes were recorded locally, in the rather primitive conditions of the shop-owner's home studio.

None of the albums has a title, and buyers make their selection according to the singer. But it's easy to guess the content from cover designs whose central motif is invariably a photograph of some kind of armament: tanks, grenades, Kalashnikovs, jet fighters or anti-aircraft guns. Among the tell-tale machines, Naimatullah's sad eyes the colour of horobon stare out from the racks. His is the only face to survive the Taliban ban against depictions of the human form.

NOW aged 35, Naimatullah began singing at the age of eight, and performing on the radio and at concerts in India and Pakistan while still in his teens. Naimatullah's master still lives in Kabul, but cannot face the subject matter that his disciple now pursues. Naimatullah's six regular accompanists now live in Pakistan.

He visits them. Because while his albums give a measure of security to one whose very occupation is suspect for the Taliban, it does not bring in enough to survive. So, during the cool winter months of the wedding season, Naimatullah spends two or three days a week in Pakistan performing at weddings in Karachi, and Quetta, a city only six hours drive from Kandahar. The Taliban know about his double life, Naimatullah says, but they accept it because they know he can not make do on his official earnings. He makes a flat fee of just 2,000 Pakistani rupees (about £20) per recording.

Naimatullah is grateful to have been allowed to stay in his home. His two children have died, but if he were to have a son, he would want him to be a singer too.



## So farewell then, Woolly Liberal. You were a good chap, but off message

Peter  
Preston



DEARLY beloved: we are gathered here today to celebrate the life and death of one of our nation's most enduring characters. He was a man of compassion and self-doubt. He took no decisions lightly. He knew the world was a difficult place and he sought to make it better. But his day is done and his race is run. Brothers, we say goodbye to Mr Woolly Liberal.

The end, to be sure, has been a long time coming, the sickness a creeping sclerosis. Mr Woolly took to his bed in the early 80s as Nurse Thatcher battered the Wets with her bedpan. He got out of it to attend the launch party of Faith in the City but retired hurt almost immediately. He lit a candle for John Major, then blew it out.

Good old Woolly was never a political hack. He belonged to all parties, and to none. He was Jim Prior and Robert Foulke rolled into one. He believed in doing his best and listening to the other chap's point of view: really listening. He would sometimes change his mind or, more often, shift from one standpoint to no standpoint at all. His voice lived on when his body died. The final convulsion, though, came early yesterday morning, as Tony Blair swept Saddam Hussein's last scrap of paper from the table and vowed to start bombing, or else... Dear Woolly was an internationalist. Not a pacifist, that would be going too far, but a believer in jaw-jaw and not war. He gave copiously to Oxfam and empathised with the suffering masses of Iraq. He didn't believe in smart missiles or the higher wisdom of the Pentagon. He loved 10-day debates in the Security Council. He couldn't take the vision of Mr Cook and Mr Blair rattling their sabres. He expired with the penultimate ultimatum.

Woolly, you see, was not a figure for the next millennium. His compassion went beyond words. He needed, himself, to act compassionately, too. He would give dozers in the Strand a 50p piece. He would try to Save the Children. Of course, that wasn't enough, he'd tell himself but it was something something which tied his beliefs, if any, to his personal deeds, if any. But that wasn't the New Labour he'd hoped for so fondly.

New Labour would talk tenderly about a better world, and hack the slabs out of anyone who got in the way. New Labour would hymn the virtues of participation and openness, then slam the door on his fingers. New Labour wouldn't wring its hands: it would clench them and bop the awkward squad on the snout. New Labour was a different kind of Liberalism.

THESE chaps (Woolly thought from his sickbed as the 90s wound on) say the things I believe in, but they don't do them. Freedom of Information? The greater constitution of the party lists? The sticky embrace of Captain Ashdown (who's even started to talk like them). They paid him court, to be sure: they brought flowers to his ward and spoke about the wonders of community. But then they went away and did something entirely different.

The buzz words were decision, hard choices, tough measures. They privatised the control of the skies and the Queen's. And their most ardent supporters, the businessmen who loved them, had

regarded his warning as prisoners on death row regard complaints that they are rude to warders. If a second chamber has any merit, it exists to protect the people against an elective dictatorship — an unhappy condition which the party list system brings closer. Yet the Lords is inhibited in performing that important task because nobody elected it.

None of the debates which I heard last Thursday concerned the merits of the Government's proposals. It dealt exclusively with whether or not the Lords was entitled to discuss them.

The Commons twice expressed its democratic will and the peers twice exercised their hereditary veto. I was not going to be an accessory to that process. So I abstained. I sit in the Lords because I was once a secretary of state and in consequence was entangled as a retirement present — a coronet rather than a gold watch. That does not give me the right to frustrate the men and women who

stood for election. But somebody ought to have the opportunity and authority to protect the people from authoritarian government. The problem will not be solved by the removal of the hereditary peers — welcome though that will be as proof that Britain is abandoning its old enthusiasms for hierarchy and deference. But it's hard to argue that an assembly of nominees — whether they are the beneficiaries of prime-ministerial patronage or chosen by a committee of the great and good — have a right to overturn a decision of the Commons. If there has to be a second chamber, it must be elected — not as a replica of the "other place" but as a senate which has the right to prevent and postpone obvious infringements of our liberties. Unless the upper house has been chosen by the people, it ought to spend the time on issues of no consequence. That is why Lord Irvine's transience are the most appropriate subject that the Lords has discussed for weeks.

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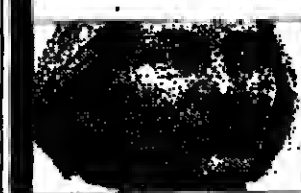
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By taking the first step, this man deserves a salute from us all

## Forget the Drugs War

Isabel  
Hilton



A FEW statistics first. One million Colombians have been forced from their homes by more than three decades of civil war and tens of thousands more have died. The armed forces of Colombia have been in steady retreat and have progressively abandoned nearly 40 per cent of the country to guerrilla control. With a history like that, it would be naive to imagine that the government of Colombia is either strong or free of corruption.

Powerful groups include not only the traditional oligarchy of the landowners, cattle ranchers, coffee barons and industrialists, but also those who have made their fortunes in one way or another out of the white powder that is America's favourite recreational drug — cocaine. Anyone who makes it to the Colombian presidency without some of that money in his war chest, however many times it has been through the laundry, clearly has a talent for miracles.

A few more statistics: the UN tells us that the drug business is now worth \$40 billion a year, nearly as much as the global tourist industry. The same organisation estimated that 218 million people are consumers of drugs, some 10 per cent of them of cocaine and heroin.

Colombia now has a new president — Andres Pastrana, elected last summer. In the few months since his election, Mr Pastrana has done two things that have already earned him a footnote in the history books. In July, even before he had been sworn in, he made a high profile gesture toward Colombia's biggest guerrilla army — the FARC (Armed Forces of Colombia), flying to meet the leaders in an encounter that made a dramatic front page picture for all the Colombian newspapers and even made the inside pages of an international press that has shown itself largely indifferent to Colombia's troubles.

President Pastrana's second diplomatic triumph came last month when he became the first Colombian president in more than 20 years to make a state visit to Washington. The US likes Mr Pastrana, so far at least. His economic policy suits the interests of American business and he speaks the language of the market. His trip to Washington should, therefore, have been a harmonious affair, but it was not. True, the US promised another \$200 million in anti-drug and development money, but instead of staying quiet and posing for the photo opportunity in the posture of grateful supplicant, Mr Pastrana had the temerity to question the US approach to eliminating drugs in his country. It did not go down well with the Republicans in Congress, who like to round up votes by grandstanding about the "war" on drugs. They complained that Mr Pastrana was selling out by seeking a deal with what the US right wing likes to call the "narco-terrorists" of the FARC.

LUMPING together the guerrilla threat and the drug menace was one of George Bush's more inspired moves. Casting around perhaps for an enemy on the scale of the collapsed Communist menace, the then President Bush declared cocaine to be the US's "most serious problem".

Since he declared his war on drugs in the early 90s, millions of dollars have been poured into an aerial crop-spraying programme that has caused serious environmental damage in the producer countries of Latin America, without having any impact on the traffic. Despite the tough talking and the cash, (\$100 million dollars a year and rising) it has been a resounding failure. Cocaine seizures have increased, but so

has the flow of drugs reaching the market. The Latin American traders have gone into global marketing and have steadily expanded the area under cultivation. US-financed planes, meanwhile, spray toxic chemicals on large tracts of South American land, damaging people and banana crops, but hardly touching the resilient coca bushes.

In Colombia, in the last four years of enforced spraying, the land devoted to coca cultivation doubled from 40,000 to 80,000 hectares. Last week, in a mocking footnote to the idea that it would be helpful to use Latin American armed forces in the "war" on drugs, US customs officials discovered nearly a ton of cocaine on a Colombian aircraft plane that had landed at Fort Lauderdale. The Colombian aircraft chief resigned, but nobody imagines that his resignation will make any difference.

What might make a difference is an approach to development that accommodates the needs of Colombian peasants to eat and feed their families — a need advocated, in theory at least, by the FARC guerrillas. As Mr Pastrana said in Washington, the "war" on drugs was not only an expensive waste of time and effort, it was also an obstacle to a peace settlement and peace to the political war is a pre-requisite for any success in the drug war. When they met in July, the FARC leadership told Andres Pastrana that they, too, were willing to co-operate in drug eradication, if a satisfactory peace deal could be reached and if eradication was rationally pursued. Mr Pastrana appears to have recognised that the cocaine trade has its roots in his country's political and economic conflict

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## Irvine's Trousers

### Endpiece

Roy Hattersley

AM seriously considering attending the House of Lords this afternoon — a happily rare event in itself which is made even more extraordinary by the fact that, if I am there, it will be my third visit in three sitting days. Last Thursday I observed, but did not take part in, the continued wrangle about which voting system we should use to send Members of the European Parliament. On Friday I actually spoke in the debate on parental ballots — the process by which comprehensive schools can be introduced into the few areas which still preserve arcane secondary selection. And today, I may well take my place on the red leather benches for the War of Irvine's Trousers.

Believe it or not, part of this afternoon's proceedings is a debate about what

the Lord Chancellor should wear round his legs. I am firmly in favour of modest plain-striped. If you think that my choice reveals a depressingly conservative view of sartorial propriety, remember that the alternative is knee breeches and silk stockings. You may think that arguing over such a subject confirms that the House of Lords is a silly anachronism which ought to be abolished forthwith. That is undoubtedly the case. But the debate on Thursday and Friday proved exactly the same point. The subjects were more serious, but there procedures were equally absurd.

On Friday, we examined what parliament calls an Order — regulations promulgated by ministers on the authority of previous legislation. The merits of the argument barely matter. Baroness Black, for the Conservatives, insisted that the parental ballot regulations were biased against the grammar schools, while I had no doubt that, in many cases, they made it al-

most impossible to secure a majority for ending secondary selection. This is the pattern of House of Lords education debates. Baroness Black fears that the Government is really embarking upon exactly the policies which I hope it will adopt. My hopes and her fears are never realised. Neither of us liked last Friday's Order. Neither did the Liberals. But none of us voted against it since the convention of the Lords decrees otherwise. If there is to be a second House of Parliament it ought to have the confidence which comes from democratic legitimacy. But not using the powers which it possesses confirms that nobody really believes it has a place in a modern parliament.

The House of Lords has, however, used its authority to frustrate the European elections being held "on the party-list system" — a scheme which is an affront to democracy because it requires votes to be cast for party rather than individuals and therefore places the crucial decision on who

will be elected in the hands of party officials not the electorate. It is a scheme to which the Liberals take the strongest exception, although they have supported it because Tony Blair told them to. Other peers — perhaps, a little paradoxically — thought it right to stand up for democracy.

The Lords is my retirement present: not a gold watch but a coronet

racy. They have been roundly criticised for doing so.

I sympathise with the critics. Lord Williams of Mostyn, Minister of State at the Home Office, was perfectly entitled to warn the neglected Upper House about the impropriety of frustrating the will of the Commons. Though I suspect that many hereditary peers, knowing that the legislative days are numbered,

regarded his warning as prisoners on death row regard complaints that they are rude to warders. If a second chamber has any merit, it exists to protect the people against an elective dictatorship — an unhappy condition which the party list system brings closer. Yet the Lords is inhibited in performing that important task because nobody elected it.

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John G. 1.50

Guardian

Bridging the gulf

Letters to the Editor

Tol



So-called 'narco-guerrillas' could be more useful as allies than as enemies

and that so-called "narco-guerrillas" of the FARC could be more useful as allies than as enemies.

This month, the FARC and the government are to conduct an experiment: five municipalities in the south of Colombia — some 3 per cent of Colombian territory — will become ceasefire zones for 90 days while peace talks are pursued. There are many obstacles to the success of those talks, not least the reluctance of Colombia's oligarchy to make the kind of concessions to the rural poor that might have prevented the war in the first place. There is also the question of US hostility: the initiative has been criticised in Congress because, Republicans complain, it will interfere with the drug eradication programme.

Pastrana's initiative is full of risks, but it is the first serious attempt to make peace in Colombia for nearly 50 years. To begin the process at all, he has had to defy ideological enemies in Bogota and in Washington who prefer cartoon ideology to reality. To carry it through, he will have to make economic and political concessions that will prejudice serious economic interests at home and abroad. If he pulls it off, it will be a near miracle. But just by taking the first step, he has dared to say that the "drug war" emperors have no clothes. For that, he deserves a salute from us all.

Watching t

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# The Guardian

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## Bridging the gulf

It's Bill 'n' Tony v the rest

IF Bill Clinton is the Harry Houdini of world politics, then surely Saddam Hussein is the Pauline — the young damsel, repeatedly tied to the railway tracks in the face of an oncoming locomotive, somehow sprung to safety seconds before her death. The weekend's events played out like a particularly nail-biting episode of the Perils of Pauline, with Saddam once again cheating mortality — and thwarting the will of the international community. The B-52 bombers carrying multiple cruise missiles were in mid-air when the order to abort came through — a U-turn in the air.

The pattern is becoming repetitive. Baghdad blocks weapons inspectors. World leaders huff and puff in anger. Washington and London gear up to blow Saddam's house down. Saddam offers total climbdown. UN accept it, then read small print to discover climbdown is not total at all, but partial and conditional. Still, Saddam avoids carpet-bombing because moment has passed. Military fireworks get cancelled — or at least postponed. Of course, the immediate reaction to that outcome is relief. Just one week after we remembered the dead of this bloody century, few were eager to add to the total. But the latest round of the Saddam saga has exposed some important weaknesses in the world community, problems which extend far beyond Iraq.

At first, Iraq's defiance brought a reluctant unity to the five permanent members of the Security Council. Saddam Hussein was an offender with a long rap sheet, a proven record not only as a killer of his own people but as a regional bully prepared to invade Kuwait to the south and gas the Kurds to the north. His renewed blocking of the UNSC inspectors last month was a strike against the permanent five of the Security Council but also against Kofi Annan, the UN Secretary General who personally agreed a compromise on this matter with Saddam in February. Baghdad was giving the finger to them all. That's why China, Russia and France — who usually lend a more receptive ear to Iraq — were prepared, however reluctantly, to go along with the US and Britain in the planned military action to pound Baghdad into compliance. The genius of Saddam's 11th hour retreat was that he gave just enough to please the French-Russian-Chinese axis, while making sufficient

demands to dissatisfy the British and the Americans. The effect was to split a coalition that had begun to glue itself together against him, and to expose the faultline that now separates London and Washington from the rest of the world.

And this is the problem which now confronts Tony Blair and Bill Clinton: how to bridge the gap between the English-speaking powers and the rest of the Security Council. Too often we are at odds with each other, too often are Saddam and other pariahs able to drive a wedge between us. Surely what's needed now is, first, an Iraqi implementation of its commitments — so that a world-threatening programme of chemical and biological weapon production can be seen and eliminated — followed by an effort by Britain and the US to listen to the concerns raised by Paris, Moscow and Beijing. Their desire to see some end to the sanctions imposed on Baghdad since 1991, whose chief victim has been the Iraqi people themselves, cannot be waved aside. A dialogue has to begin across this gulf, the one that splits the world's top table into Tony 'n' Bill versus the rest. Without the heat of crisis, when military action is not just hours away, these two sides need to draw up a common position in time for the next showdown with Saddam, which will come eventually. While they're at it, our leaders need

to work out a shared view of what should happen next, after possible bombing and after Saddam. The US, Britain, China, Russia and France need to reach such an understanding soon — before we have to witness another episode of a serial which is becoming painfully familiar.

without an official poem to mark the 50th birthday of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. Heaven forbid! How could such a great moment in our national life be allowed to pass unremarked? So we took it upon ourselves to commission a Laureate-style work from Ms Fanthorpe. And how she rose to the challenge! Her Brief Resumé at Fifty, published on Saturday, was by turns, playful and melancholic, Hughesian in its evocation of the British landscape, Larkin-esque in its recasting of the mundane. Instantly, the poem was recognised for what it is: a forceful claim on poetry's top job.

Of course, there are other contenders, foremost among them, we hear, Wendy Cope. Her publishers are said to have advised her to stay quiet, but we urge another course. For this is now a campaign, and it should be fought like one. Perhaps the two lead candidates should meet in a presidential-style TV debate, where each one can be challenged. ("Ms Cope, Princess Eugenie is about to turn 16. You have 90 seconds to compose an ode. There will be a 45-second rebuttal from Ms Fanthorpe.") We might see rallies and TV ads, T-shirts and bumper stickers. "Fanthorpe '98 — Tanned, Rested and Ready." As Michael Portillo knows, he (or she) who dares, wins. Ms Fanthorpe has made the opening bid. Those who wish to beat her must make their move soon.

THE race is on, and those of us who relish a good, old-fashioned contest for high office are all but drooling at the prospect. The candidates are in place, their rival claims staked out, the early factions already forming. New Labour may be bent on extinguishing genuine competition from Wales, Scotland and London — preferring to handpick the candidates, lest the voters mess things up — but the British instinct for democracy will not be quashed. Instead it has simply found a different outlet: the race to become our new Poet Laureate.

A new favourite has emerged, thanks in part to this newspaper. We blush slightly as we mention the name of U A Fanthorpe and our own role in bringing her work to wider attention. Last week we realised the death of Ted Hughes meant the nation would be

## Poet's choice

Let battle commence

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## Letters to the Editor

### Poetry and patronage

AT LAST, and at a suitably respectful distance from the death of Ted Hughes, you show us one person not mentioned who could do the job: Ursula Fanthorpe (a Brief Resumé at Fifty, November 14). Anyone who has introduced her poems to students and witnessed their enthusiasm at her public readings will agree that she has all the qualities we want in a poet laureate. Her traditions run deep: classical, biblical Shakespeare, Donne, Browning; she does not suffer fools gladly; is tied to "this narrow island charged with echoes/And whispers..."; has time for the ordinary person, and understands the medicinal value of irony. Sadly, however, we doubt she would accept the honour.

Jen Greatrex  
Joanna Kirby  
Trudy Pankhurst-Green  
Dana Reah  
Rotherham  
South Yorkshire

YOUR item from South Africa (Smoking ban ignites row in South Africa, November 7) suggests that the legislation would make South Africa the first developing country to ban tobacco advertising. We have just returned from Peru where there is a global ban on smoking in public places. The ban is published with the health warning on all cigarette packets, and is universally observed, apart from the occasional European tourist. Basil Strong, London.

RE Geoff Boycott's "boy-cotting" by the BBC and the Sun, I would like to point out that the BBC and the Sun have both at various times glorified Paul Gascoigne as a wonderful sportsman. Vinnie Jones has appeared on A Question of Sport. Both have a track record of violence. Winstanley.

IF the Queen were to accept Camilla as Charles's partner (How ever did you put up with me, mummy? November 14), perhaps Prince Philip might pick up some tips on charm and discretion! Eileen Noakes, Tonnes, Devon.

## To bomb or not to bomb

IT IS ironic that, just as we commemorate the ending 80 years ago of "the war to end war", the UK and US are preparing to go to war again. Just as two world wars failed to end war, so will a Cruise missile attack on Iraq achieve nothing. It will end the work of UNSCOM for the foreseeable future — for surely Washington and Downing Street do not expect to destroy the Saddam Hussein regime without causing unacceptable "collateral damage" — ie civilian deaths. Targeting biological and chemical weapons might well indeed liberate them over a wide area outside Iraq.

This is not to deny that Saddam Hussein is yet again beseeching his underlings, such as the UN Security Council and to Kofi Annan himself. But if he is to be overthrown, this must be by Iraqi dissidents. As here in the Blitz, support for Iraq's government will be strengthened and opposition weakened. Most of all if the attack is supported by Israel.

An attack may in fact be illegal. Many do not believe one to be permitted by existing Security Council resolutions, certainly not the latest, and Blair

and Clinton are well aware that a new resolution calling for an attack would be vetoed by China, France and Russia. A combination of support for Iraqi dissidents, negotiation and containment (as proposed in your Leader of November 11) is not ideal; the Iraqi people will still suffer — and die — from sanctions as long as the regime misuses the oil-for-food and medicines concession. But it is the least unsatisfactory of the options available. Dr Douglas Holdstock, Medact.

IT IS reported that the US government is spending around a billion per week building and maintaining an armed force in the Persian Gulf area. Presumably to protect the flow of cheap oil into its (and our) nation's petrol tanks, overuse of which is leading to environmental changes causing devastating effects. A billion dollars a week is a lot of money. Mitch in the Gulf of Mexico, Jock Coats, Oxford.

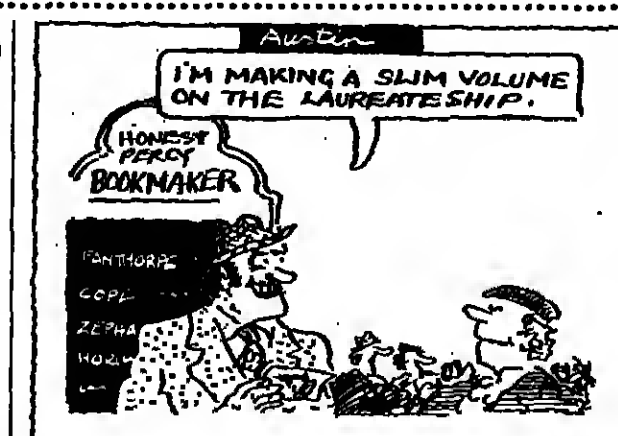
SADDAM Hussein deserves a 10 per cent commission from the sale of arms and cost

of protection given by the United States and Britain to the Gulf states.

Each time a crisis is triggered in the region, the Gulf States bear the brunt of the financial cost of troops movement and the sale of outdated arms to countries which do not have the manpower and expertise to use them. Dr Peter Kandela, Staines, Middx.

LAST week, Tony Blair was in Scotland attacking the Scottish National Party because their policy is to rid Scotland of weapons of mass destruction. Iraq is to be bombed into submission for retaining weapons of mass destruction. Have the lunatics taken over the asylum? Myra Gartshore, Dumbarton.

IF THE bombing gets too bad, Saddam can always leave his people to suffer and pay over for a shopping trip to London. As a head of state, he is obviously immune from prosecution — maybe he and Pinochet could meet for lunch at the River Café? Guy Kitteringham, Northleigh.



## Truth about my friend, Lord Wigg

CHAPMAN Pincher's statement that Lord Wigg told him that he was prosecuted after being "set up" by Harold Wilson is astonishing (Wilson 'set up' spy chief Lord Wigg, November 13).

I was a close friend of George Wigg's for the last 23 years of his life. I gave the oration at his memorial service. I was junior counsel in the case mentioned, and I do not violence to my lifelong duty of confidentiality to a client in stating that neither I nor any of Wigg's other friends I have consulted today ever heard him make

such an allegation. Lord Goodman was Wigg's solicitor. He was also Wilson's solicitor. Both Wilson and Goodman attended Wigg's memorial service.

There is no mystery about the delay in opening Wigg's papers at the LSE. They are voluminous and have had to wait their turn in being catalogued. Nor is there any mystery about his executor. It is I.

Further, the papers do not "contain bloody dynamite". They are rather boring. Roy Roebuck, London.

## Why scare stories about mobiles don't ring true

YOUR article on the health risks of mobile phones doesn't mention the strong evidence that the use of mobile phones while driving increases the risk of accidents (Mobile phones get an unhealthy image, November 14). This is important because car accidents are a common cause of death and disability in young people; therefore any increase in risk will cause a lot of misery.

Brain tumours are, by contrast, rare. But whether they might be caused by mobile phones is still an important question. Unfortunately, we don't know the answer. Your article does say — in the seventh paragraph — that "nobody really knows" about the safety of mobile phones, but I don't think that's the message your readers will take away from the article.

Considerable prominence is given to the story of a young man who developed Hodgkin's disease "in exactly the same position as I used to hold my phone". The man understandably assumes that his tumour has been caused by the phone, but it's almost certainly chance. Both Hodgkin's disease and use of mobile phones are common, and you would expect hundreds, even thousands, of cases to occur in people who have used phones.

Then you quote a man who stands to make money from worries about the safety of

phones as having received "more than 3000 calls... from people who have fallen ill, including with tumours". So what? It starts a scare tomorrow that digital television causes health problems it won't take me any time to collect that many calls. Proper epidemiological evidence will be needed to ascertain whether mobile phones cause brain tumours.

Researchers will question those who have brain tumours and closely matched controls (people of the same age and sex) about use of mobile phones, but their results may be hard to interpret for at least two reasons. People know that mobile phones may cause brain tumours and so those who have brain tumours may be more likely to remember any phone use. Next, it may be that tumours are associated with longer phone calls, and will people be able to remember how long they used their phones for?

Richard Smith, Editor, British Medical Journal, London.

We do not publish letters where only an e-mail address is supplied; please include a full postal address. We may edit letters: shorter ones are more likely to appear. We regret we cannot acknowledge those not used. Please provide a reference to the relevant article.

## Women playwrights' brief script

LYN GARDNER, writing about women playwrights, gets the story right when she says that we have been silenced since Aphra Behn in the 17th century (Silent treatment, November 11).

The reason that women do so much better in TV than in theatre is that TV writing demands a fairly strict formula. It stems from Aristotle and highlights story-telling, conflict and a particular structure and it has been followed by most male dramatists down through the ages. Theatre, in spite of the fact that it has an older, middle class audience, is much more open to new ideas than TV.

Women's plays are drowned out by our theatrical powers-that-be how many plays currently running in the West End are written by women?

If, in the last 20 years, it seems that women's plays have tended to be about unbeatable losers, this does not necessarily reflect what was being written — these were the plays deemed acceptable by the theatre establishment. The unbeatable losers are dying out but there's still no backing for the plays that don't fit the mould.

Women's natural inclination is to break with prescribed formats, but it's still a sad fact that their work is "fringed".

These plays are not a decoration on a somewhat battered lampshade — they are the light bulb and may even illuminate what is seen as a dying art. TV has done us the great disservice of further sealing us into what is acceptable in terms of form — theatre can't afford to imitate, it needs to pioneer and take a leaf out of the book of this country's visual artists. Margaret Hollingsworth, (playwright) London.

## Poor service

AT last a car manufacturer has admitted that price fixing does operate in the UK car market (Car chief admits failure to cut prices, November 12). Vauxhall have simply confirmed what we knew all along — that UK consumers are being ripped off in comparison to consumers in the rest of the EU. We pay between 10 and 20 per cent more for the best-selling cars because many manufacturers continue to place obstacles in the way of people trying to buy cars more cheaply in Europe and by operating an anti-competitive distributive system. The root of the problem is the block exemption system that allows car manufacturers to set up exclusive dealer networks under the justification of improving service levels. What it is actually a price fixing arrangement. Sheila McKechie, Director, Consumers' Association.

## Arts should not remain a Lottery

THE Arts will always depend on those with bright ideas. Indeed many of the brightest enthusiasts who initiated and drove forward those early Lottery-funded projects now coming to fruition were, in managerial terms, essentially amateurs.

The country is becoming littered, as Dan Ghalster (Lottery windfalls that bring a double bind, November 11) suggests, with excellent people whose projects have outgrown their managerial prowess and who are then dumped on the scrapheap.

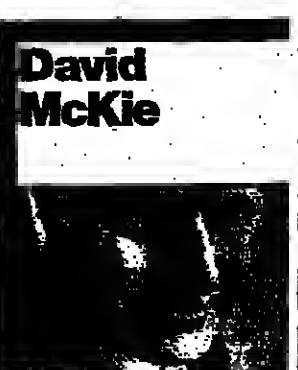
Even the Arts Council foresaw the problems likely to stem from a vast building programme in the almost certain absence of any meaningful level of extra funding to sustain staffing and programming. Overwhelmingly, state-supported arts organisations became lean and tight some years ago. Gone are the days when either Arts Council or

Regional Arts Board could remove revenue funding from a "failed" client organisation in order to fund a new initiative. Why was this not admitted and why was a competitive system of hurdle jumping continued, one in which the many inevitably felt a strong sense of failure? One might question why managerial "hurdle jumping" was not sent out by the Arts Council (the RAES were grossly under-staffed) to help those in difficulty.

One is driven to ask why the arts bureaucracies so much prefer the crutch of a lottery, with each hurdle and even the winning post, littered with Lottery victims?

It is simply about power, the preference being for grateful supplicants (and victims), rather than a transparent, co-operative system to ensure a genuine and happy process of cultural renewal? Hugh Adams, Bristol.

## Watching the detectives



FEAR we have seen the last of Inspector Morse. Not the end of Inspector Morse as portrayed in Collio Dexter's original novels, but Morse as played by John Thaw in the television adaptations, with his Wagnerian and his weathered integrity, his booziness and his crosswords, his characteristic cry of "Lewie", his music by Barrington Pheasant. Malcolm Bradbury's screenplay for last week's ver-

sion of Dexter's novel, The Wench Is Dead, appears to have been the TV Morse's equivalent of the Reichsbank falls in the novel, as in the film, Morse is forced to do his detecting from hospital, where he's undergoing treatment for an ulcer which is largely the product of too much booze. (How fortunate for Central TV that Morse has been sponsored lately by a bank, and not, as before, by a brewer.)

What isn't in the book, however, is the harping on the theme of early retirement. Morse was hardly tucked up in his hospital bed before the dread words were spoken by his mordant superior, Chief Superintendent Groult. (Before anyone writes to Correctness and Clarification: yes, I know that Groult is the actor, and the Chief Superintendent is called Strange. But Groult, with its echoes of "stout" and "grouchy", is much the more appropriate name.) In the TV version, anyway, a sense of

impending mortality seemed to be haunting both Morse and Strange/Groult. "Go with dignity," the superintendent told his stricken subordinate. "You're the best detective in all Thames Valley. Why not quit while you're ahead?" Later Groult/Strange confided to Morse's girlfriend that he was feeling terminal too. "I shan't be there much longer myself," he confessed. "I can't stand it, frankly."

These were not the only liberties Bradbury took with Dexter. He'd also imported a tedious American criminologist (female), presumably because studio bosses insisted on having an American character in the hope of getting American sales.

Even Morse's faithful girlfriend — well, mature woman friend, if we're going to be accurate, but even women of plus get described as girl friends in newspapers nowadays — seemed to have been imported from some other Dexter story. Even more dis-

concertingly, Lewis was missing, since his actor, Kevin Whately, wasn't available. Yet, for as I am of Lewis, this change was perhaps the most therapeutic of all, since it enabled Malcolm Bradbury to smuggle into the story a young fast-track graduate policeman called Kershaw (Kebble College, first in history) who, while Morse was tucked up, did most of the leg work.

THE result was a splendid evocation of the pleasures of academic research (itself a form of detection) and the way in which hours of tedious poring over ancient microfilm newspapers, or struggling to decipher documents filed out in a flowery Victorian hand, or wading through box after box of unsorted papers, can sometimes be a thrilling experience, as at last one turns up, perhaps in a footnote, perhaps in some dim subordinate clause, the revelatory line

which unlocks some recalcitrant mystery.

It always surprises me that library studies aren't regularly disrupted by ecstatic celebrations. The most extravagant demonstration I have seen so far was a display of high fives by a couple in the Family Records Centre who had no doubt just unravelled some riddle concerning a long lost aunt.

A few weeks ago, at the British Newspaper Library, I found in a report on a bankruptcy proceeding the solution to a mystery which had dogged me for months: why had the wife of the great Victorian fraudster James Spence Balfour MP dropped out of his life at around the age of 30, only to reappear in her early seventies? Where had she been in the meantime?

The temptation then to rise from my seat in the microfilm unit, punching the air, and emitting a shout of "yes!" was like nothing else since Lawrence Sanchez headed Wimbledon's

winning goal against Liverpool in the FA Cup Final of 1988. But these things are not done in libraries, which is possibly why ill-informed people think they are boring.

Profound thanks, anyway, to John Thaw and all others concerned for creating the only TV detective, apart from Sherlock Holmes, to whom I ever looked forward. What a shame that Morse can't take some of the others into retirement with him, especially boring old Wexford. Malcolm Bradbury could then write a series which found the whole lot living together in some retirement home in the country; one by one they would all be bumped off until only Morse was left. Even now, we can't be entirely sure that John Thaw won't ride again. At the time, the whole world supposed the toppling of Holmes from the Reichsbank falls must have been fatal. Even Conan Doyle thought so. But mercifully, all were wrong.

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# Comment Iraq Crisis

## First Person

Tam Dalyell

IT is the conventional wisdom that Britain is simply tagging on behind Washington over Iraq. But Iraqis blame the British not a whit less than the Americans. As Dr Khaled el Qunaisi, PhD in international law at King's College, London, put it to former Irish prime minister Albert Reynolds and myself last Sunday night at the home in Iraq of deputy prime minister Tariq Aziz: "The Foreign Office have the most expert diplomats of any country in the world. The Americans could not draft such difficult resolutions at the United Nations. They have used their expertise to make Iraq look in the wrong in the eyes of the world."

Foreign minister Mohammed al-Sahaf went further in a separate meeting. "We Iraqis are deeply hurt by the attitude of Britain. Many of us were educated in England or Scotland. Our culture is British, our educational system was based on British practice. Our health service, the best of any Arab country before 1980, was based on the NHS. And now the British Government won't even talk to us properly, on terms of some dignity."

The four Irishmen with whom I travelled all assented vigorously to the Iraqi suggestion that the English were very bad at trying to understand the position of those with whom they disagreed. The foreign minister asked plaintively why such different criteria should apply to Iraq and Israel. He pointed to the fact that not only was United States secretary of state Madeleine Albright Jewish, but so was US defence secretary William Cohen, and special adviser David Levy, and national security adviser Sandy Berger.

What should a Gentile say to Iraqis who ask whether it is fair that decisions to bomb should be made by those whose agenda is linked with the perceived interests of Israel?

As on my visit to Baghdad in 1994, I judged that the technocrat ministers were people of high quality and seriousness of purpose. The health minister — and Kurd — Dr Mubarrak, was in his department from 8 in the morning until 10 at night, seven days a week.

The notion that I put around that Iraqi ministers do not care about their people is, from my observation, cheap propaganda. One said: "You see the ap-

They complained to me that Madeleine Albright was Jewish

alling state of our schools. We have children and grandchildren. Our families go to the shattered school system; the students in our families go to Baghdad University. It was once one of the great universities of the world; now it is starved of resources. Our families have to go to the public hospitals.

Indeed, I had seen the teaching hospital. Tears welled up in the eyes of my tough Irish companions, Reynolds, Senator Michael Langan, Peter Doyle and Brian Griffin. No wonder. Distraught mothers, sitting on plastic sheeting, looked helplessly at children with hours to live.

George Robertson and Tony Blair were rightly greatly moved by the carnage of infants at Dabluane. Five infants die each day at this hospital in Baghdad. Is this the city which was told has two ambulances without oxygen and no working fire engine because of the lack of spare parts on which members of a Labour Government wish to hurl the most modern and dreadful weapons of war?

I am convinced the orthodox Arabs who are tough, proud people going back to the Assyrians, ought to be welcomed back into the family of nations.

What the foreign minister wanted last week, as did everyone else we met, was that before bombs rain down on their population, at the very least a serious delegation of officials should go to Baghdad and talk about the whole problem.

Following the weekend's eleventh-hour developments, that doesn't seem very much to ask.

Tam Dalyell is Labour MP for Linlithgow.

## Apocalypse of the Paper Tigers



## In an age that threatens biological warfare, the US is losing control

Paul Rogers

WHILE the primary aim of Saddam Hussein's regime is to stay in power, its longer-term aim is to rebuild its status as a major regional force. Among many policies required to achieve these aims, two stand out — to end United Nations sanctions and to maintain the ability to deploy weapons of mass destruction, especially biological weapons.

Until very recently, the United States was prepared to rely primarily on the UN weapons inspectors (Unscow) and the maintenance of sanctions to counter both policies. Unscow would work to control the weapons programmes while sanctions would keep the regime in a thoroughly weakened state. Whatever its public rhetoric, Washington was intent on maintaining sanctions at least until the regime collapsed.

In the past three weeks US policy has undergone a profound shift, having effectively given up on Unscow. It now envisages a harsh process of containment, not least through the use of strong military force to strike at the heart of the regime — its elite forces, intelligence and communications organisations and weapons industries.

The process was well under way by Saturday, with weeks of bomber and cruise missile strikes being planned to bring the regime to its knees.

While much of the change in policy stems from Bill Clinton's relief from domestic pressures after the mid-term election successes, it also follows the experience of the last major crisis nine months ago. The Iraqi regime survived that crisis intact, having had time to disperse and conceal key aspects of its biological warfare infrastructure, but it was required to accept a con-

tinuing and intrusive inspection regime.

During the summer and early autumn, Iraq progressively interfered with the weapons inspections and, by the time of the US elections, Unscow was effectively defunct. Saddam was most likely anticipating an election result that would further weaken Clinton, enabling Iraq to gather further support for the relief of sanctions. But he miscalculated in three ways.

First, the election went Clinton's way, enabling him to turn his attention to international issues. Second, the US began at last to put some pressure on Israel, relieving some of the anti-American tensions in the Gulf. Finally, Gulf oil producers, burdened by low oil prices, could see some advantage in a renewed war with Iraq bringing a price surge, as the regime was crippled.

The result was the US action planned to start 36 hours ago — a military campaign exceeding any of the raids of recent years. It is even likely that it would have been larger than the raids of last February but for the intervention of UN general secretary Kofi Annan's intervention. Those raids were expected to last a month, with up to 1,500 civilian casualties.

At the last minute, Saddam realised his mistake and offered just enough of a climb-down for Clinton to recall the bombers, while falling far short of a complete capitulation. The US, along with Britain, was left with an escalating military momentum but a lack of international agreement. Even so, with Clinton cancelling his Asian tour, it is by no means certain that military strikes will be avoided.

The seven-year programme of sanctions is simply not

working. The regime remains in place, with its elite of up to a million people doing remarkably well, not least through the proceeds of massive oil smuggling operations. Meanwhile the experience of millions of ordinary Iraqis is dire, with at least 6,000 children dying every month from malnutrition.

BUT there are huge dangers in taking massive military action against Saddam's regime. One of Iraq's most remarkable achievements in the 1980s was to build up a comprehensive biological warfare programme in just five years, so much so that at the time of the 1991 war it had missiles and bombs, armed with anthrax and botulinum, ready to use if the regime were threatened with destruction.

Even with the undoubted successes of the Unscow inspections, Iraq is well-equipped to have a hidden biological warfare capability that would be used if US military action began to strike at the heart of the regime. Put bluntly, a second Gulf war could all too easily get out of control.

This was exactly what happened with a major war-game at the US naval war college a couple of years ago. In that scenario, the Iraqi regime's survival was threatened, it used biological weapons to great effect and the US retaliated with a nuclear strike.

It is possible that the weekend's events have given us a breathing space. If a further crisis with all its potential dangers will only be avoided if there is a change of policy towards Iraq. The whole sanctions programme has to be reviewed, with a revised system developed that relieves the pressure on the

majority of the Iraqi people, not least through a greatly increased but externally managed food-for-oil scheme.

Sanctions should be concentrated on the regime itself and its supporting elite, focusing, for example, on its finances, specialised imports, transport and travel, and probably including a total no-fly zone to hinder its internal operations. This will require much regional support, which will in turn only be possible if the Middle East peace process gets fully back on track.

While there is no guarantee that this will work, it is a much wiser course of action than risking a war that could easily escalate out of control.

Iraq is a prototype of the kind of conflict likely to face us in the coming decades. Weapons proliferation is now making it easier for weak states to stand up to strong ones. Crises involving weapons of mass destruction are likely to occur and, as with Iraq, it is dangerous to assume that such crises are readily amenable to military solutions. At a time when the US sees itself as the world's sole superpower, it may actually be starting to lose control.

The post-cold war world demands fundamental rethinking of our ideas about international security, and there is little evidence that this has begun. Even so, if a way can be found to handle the Iraq crisis without a potentially disastrous resort to force, it might give us experience that will be invaluable in approaching the disorderly world of the early 21st century.

Paul Rogers is professor of peace studies at Bradford University.

America's emergency is mainly about allies, nukes and oil

## State of anxiety

Martin Walker



IT is not generally known that the United States has been in an official state of emergency since November 1994, when President Bill Clinton first declared it, "with respect to the unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security, foreign policy and economy of the US posed by the proliferation of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons and the means of delivering them".

Last Thursday, with a discreet announcement in the Federal Register, he formally extended the state of emergency again, continuing the extraordinary powers this gives him over military operations and the reserves, and the authority to draw on civilian resources.

It was first called after earlier Iraqi blustering, and a comment by India's then chief of staff on the main lesson of the Gulf war: that in the single-superpower world, a middle-ranking state planning to assert itself had better acquire a nuclear weapon.

In a scenario under which Iraq made another lightning grab for Kuwait, began exploiting the oil and declared that it had a nuclear weapon and would use it to defend its gains, the Pentagon concluded that its options would be few. The strategy therefore focuses on preventing Iraq from acquiring WMDs, the Washington acronym for weapons of mass destruction.

"The goal of our policy is to counter the threat Iraq poses to its neighbours, particularly the threat that would be posed if Iraq acquired WMDs and the means to deliver them," the state department spokesman declared on the day that the state of emergency was extended. He added that since the United Nations inspectors "have not been operating for eight of the last 12 months... in a matter of months, they [the Iraqis] could reconstitute their WMDs".

To Washington, the overall strategic situation is now more perilous than when the state of emergency was first declared, largely because of the collapse of the oil price. It is still dropping, from \$12.91 for a barrel of Brent crude on November 3, to \$10.04 on November 10.

During the first Iraq crisis of 1990, the price hit \$35, which helped Saudi Arabia and Kuwait to pay the US and Britain \$40 billion for the Saudi state budget is now \$13 billion

in the red, after oil earnings fell from \$45 billion last year to under \$20 billion this year. The domestic political implications of the Saudi monarchy's straitened circumstances are grim for the US, which has established a formidable military base in the region, from the Dhahran airfield to the Fifth Fleet base at Bahrain. The Saudi monarchy has got into the addictive habit of buying such grudging public support as it has, and now the money has run out. And yet Washington's military base in the Gulf is all the more necessary, because the sphere of strategic interest has extended dramatically with the new US (and British) investments in the oil and gas fields of the Caspian basin. The region, from the Dnieper at Incheik in Turkey, through the Middle East to the Caspian and the Gulf, is becoming an American protectorate.

Both the strategy and the investments help to explain the reluctance of European allies to join the new Anglo-American military effort. Denmark's token contribution of one military transport aircraft may not be unconnected to defence minister Hans Hækkerup's hopes to succeed NATO's secretary-general, Javier Solana, next year.

But it amounts to a pretty thin contribution from a Europe which depends far more than Britain and the US on Gulf oil, and makes a mockery of Europe's "common foreign and security policy".

There is a deeper American anxiety, beyond the personal ambition of Clinton to topple Saddam Hussein. There already is an Islamic bomb in Pakistan, so far with limited delivery capacity. But Paki-

The entire region up to the Caspian is becoming a US protectorate

stan is bankrupt and its government insecure.

It may be a remote prospect, but the gruesome combination of fundamentalist regimes taking power in both Pakistan and Saudi Arabia must now be the stuff of Pentagon contingency planning, to assess whether their bases and the West's oil supply could still be secured.

These are the parameters that made it so galling for Clinton to hold back, now that he had regained the personal authority and the nerve to admit that the UN inspections and sanctions were failing to contain Iraq.

But Saddam or no Saddam, America's oilmen and its military must now reckon with the fear that one day they will face the prospect of a mullah with a nuke, squatting astride the jugular of the industrialised world.

Any day, I'd rather have the UN's Kofi Annan dealing with the Iraq crisis than Americans with the mentality of Dr Strangelove

## Bomber Bill

Ian Aitken

THE tendency of truth to outdo fiction is at its most gloriously obvious in the world of peaked caps, brass buttons and scrambled eggs. The suits in the US state department may be prone to perpetrate the odd fiasco, but we have learned to recognise that they are amateurs in comparison with the Pentagon.

Thus Dr Strangelove, surely Peter Sellers' greatest screen creation, almost stepped through the looking glass and into the real world at the weekend. As the B-52 bombers winged their way across half the globe, carrying 200-odd cruise missiles earmarked for the task of toppling Saddam Hussein, we came within an hour of war on Saturday.

But what if the computer on just one of those bombers had been on the blink, and the order to abort the mission had gone unheard?

That you will remember is what happened in the fictional Dr Strangelove, and the world was plunged into a nuclear war by a crazed American air force general in a stonewall hat.

The American military's record is not good in these matters. The recent cruise missile attack on Afghanistan was designed to take out another Western *bête noir*, Osama bin Laden, and was based on high quality intelligence information about his whereabouts. But there must have been something wrong, because Bin Laden is still in the land of the living.

The simultaneous attack on Sudan was even more idiotic, involving the destruction of what later turned out to be little more than a corner chemist's shop in Khartoum. Yet this, too, was based on "reliable" intelligence information that the site in question was a factory making nerve gas for terrorists. Miraculously, no one was

killed, but the price paid by Britain for supporting the operation was to have its ambassador expelled and its hopes of brokering peace in Sudan sharply diminished.

The same "smart bombs" and the same "reliable" intelligence that flattened the Sudanese equivalent of Boots would, we are told, enable the US air force to bring down Saddam from 35,000ft without a single Western casualty.

ANYONE prepared to believe this would be that the American war in Vietnam was a triumph. Yet that war — in which an army of peasants in straw hats and black pyjamas defeated the world's greatest war machine — provides the ultimate proof that the Pentagon is almost always wrong.

It was a war founded on the accepted US military wisdom that "when you've got them by the balls, their

hearts and mind will follow". The Pentagon's error at the time was that it didn't appreciate who had whom by the balls.

There is plenty more evidence available to the US people of the Pentagon's ineptitude, should Vietnam be insufficient. Take, for instance the fiasco of President Jimmy Carter's attempt to rescue the staff of the American embassy in Tehran, who had been taken hostage in the coup which toppled the Shah.

It was a typical piece of Pentagonian gung-ho, no doubt inspired by Israel's success at Entebbe. But the generals sent in helicopters with air intakes which sucked up sand. Not surprisingly, they wouldn't work in the desert.

And what about the American intervention in Somalia? The marines came up the beaches under television lights, amid much competing of FR brass. But the Somali warlords proved cleverer than them,

a lot of young GIs died in gruesome circumstances, and the US army pulled out again with its tail between its legs, humiliated by a bunch of thugs. The only lesson drawn from this frightful experience was that soldiering on the ground produces hodybags, so let's do it from a safe height in future.

Then there was the bombing of Libya, designed to take out Colonel Muammar Gaddafi. As usual, the bombs missed, killing innocent people instead. Or the invasion of the Commonwealth island of Grenada, with the purpose of bringing down a Marxist regime there. A vast armada was assembled to do this trivial

job, but they forgot to tell Mrs Thatcher or the Queen. Both were furious, and the great Thatcher/Reagan love affair was briefly under serious strain.

And let's not forget the mother of all fiascos, the Bay of Pigs. It was planned by the CIA, endorsed by the Pentagon and authorised by the saintly President Kennedy. But its only long-term effect was to give substance to Fidel Castro's strongest card with his own people, that the *gringos* were out to get them. It led directly to the Cuban missile crisis, which very nearly made Dr Strangelove a reality.

Most of these events are laughable as well as frightening. Frankly I don't believe Saddam can be brought down from the air and I am astonished that anyone in either the American or the British government believes it either.

For myself, I prefer the UN's Kofi Annan to Dr Strangelove any day.

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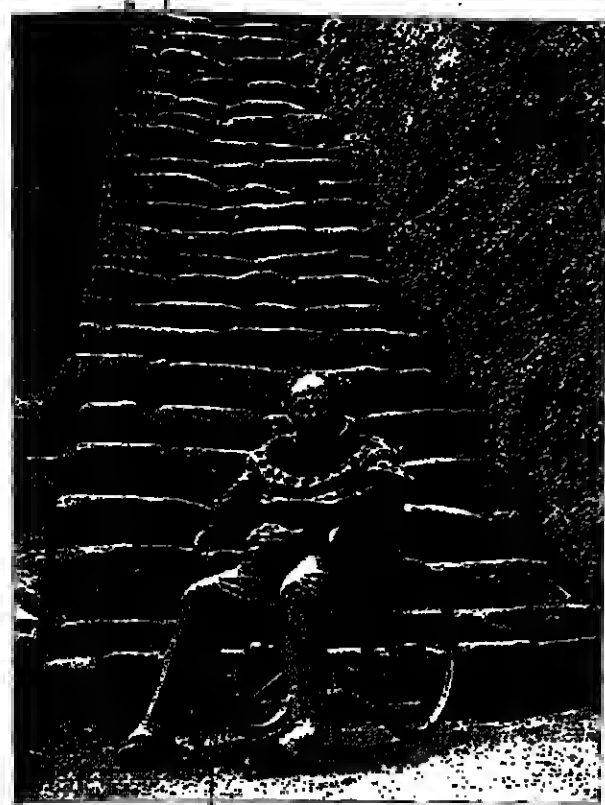
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1999 Media Guide



Quentin Crewe

# An aristocratic taste for adventure



his travels... Crewe in Machu Picchu, Peru

**Q**UENTIN CREWE, who has died on his 72nd birthday, was an aristocrat and satirist who invented himself as the first restaurant critic in Britain and went on to create serious travel literature from his wheelchair. His life was a barometer of painful yet, for him, exhilarating social change.

Crewe was the grandson on his mother's side of the Marquess of Crewe. His family regarded his British consul father as an incurably middle class. It was little wonder that Crewe grew up with little sense of truly belonging anywhere. This feeling could not have been helped by the doctors' pronouncement that he would be dead of muscular dystrophy by the age of 16.

With his flaxen hair and cherub face, young Quentin was good at commanding attention by recitations, and became a personable young man who had access to all the great houses of Britain — and the ear of powerful press barons.

It was not really surprising that years later, when the muscular dystrophy had not killed him but had consigned his skeleton to a frame in a wheelchair, he not only trav-

elled to and wrote about dangerous parts of the world but also wheeled his chair into highly combative radio shows like Robert Robinson's *Stop the Week*, enjoying an aristocrat's confidence that he need not bother that his head was two feet below everyone else's because the world would come to him.

He was always attractive to the rich and influential. He virtually moved into the Marlboroughs' Birch Grove, falling in love with the daughter Sarah and Dorothy, to have chats with him while sitting in the wreckage of his bath. He had a similar, though less close, surrogate-mother relationship with Lady Violet Bonham Carter.

Percy Lubbock, the portly, rich and almost blind critic and author of what is still regarded as the best book on the construction of the novel, *The Craft of Fiction*, employed Crewe as secretary and reader-aloud in his handsome villa near Harold Acton's in Italy. Lubbock's affection for Crewe became deep and he suggested him as substitute when he could not do some reviewing for the *Times Literary Supplement*.

It was Crewe's first pub-

lished article and the cruelty from Lubbock's point of view was that it made Crewe restless. In 1963 he returned to London where Robert Boothby, reportedly Lady Dorothy's lover and Sarah's father, and certainly a ready admirer of young men, invited him to lunch with John Junor, then deputy editor of the *Evening Standard*. Junor asked him to do an article on Monte Carlo, which, it was rumoured, was about to become the victim of a virtual takeover bid by the shipping tycoon Aristotle Onassis.

Finding no evidence of this, Crewe wrote such a funny piece that he was given a job at £15 a week. At the *Standard* he wrote leaders, then *Londoner's Diary*, then features.

By the time he joined the new magazine *Queen*, launched by his friend, the resourceful and manic Jocelyn Stevens, he was more used to the ways of the Fourth Estate. *Queen* published a regular list of restaurants, each with a one-line comment. When the girl who did this fell ill, Crewe, who was going out to lunch, offered to fill the space by writing about the restaurant. As it was Wilton's, full of influential and picturesque diners, he let rip,

describing the atmosphere and decor as much as the food and which only later, in less sensitive hands, was to sink into pretentious flatulence. "No one," Crewe was to recall, "had ever written about restaurants in this way. I became the restaurant correspondent."

**T**HERE WAS another side to Crewe. Even as a public school boy at Eton, Crewe had sympathised with the underdog, once begging his father, then British consul to Monaco, to help a German Jewish refugee who had been blinded by Gestapo torturers.

At the *Daily Mail*, which he joined when the fun ran out at *Queen*, he took over the gossip column, refusing to write about royalty, divorces, family rows and pregnancies (virtually the entire content of the average gossip column). He intended to focus on people who were doing positive and intelligent things. This revolutionary creed caused clashes with the editor, perhaps not helped by the knowledge that Crewe was also writing sketches for the BBC TV political and

social satire show *That Was the Week That Was*.

In 1964 he started to write a column for the more leftwing *Sunday Mirror* — "more fun than any job I have had" — which lasted for seven years. He went to Saudi Arabia, where he got stuck in the desert with no water and resisted attempts to kill one of his Saudi helpers who appeared to be demented and a danger.

In South Africa, where he was sent to report on how things were "getting better for the blacks and coloureds", he reported how under apartheid they were getting much worse. He thought such pieces the most valuable journalism he wrote; and they paved the way for his travel books on South America (*In the Realm of Gold*), India and the Sahara — all from a wheelchair pushed by willing young men, and using a fold-up commode designed by an accompanying photographer. He always saw the dirt as well as the gold, but found the effect of revolutions depressing.

He also produced several books on food, for many of which he also travelled: for *Food from France*, for instance, he wheeled his way through the French regions.

Even a 10-year stint in the inherited Madeley Hall in Staffordshire, where he farmed and tried to build a whole village to replace disused mineworks — a forerunner of Prince Charles's similar efforts — did not subdue his quietly ebullient nature. Even though officialdom finally beat him and he retreated to live abroad.

He was married three times, sympathising with all three wives about the strain his disability and the travel bug caused. They were the American Martha Sharp, by whom he had a son and daughter; the novelist Angela Ruth, by whom he had a daughter and a son (since deceased); and the aristocrat Susan Cavendish, second cousin of Sarah Macmillan, by whom he had a son and a daughter. He remained on good terms with each.

Crewe radiated a positive atmosphere. Despite the whitening away of his own privileged class, overall he thought the world a better place than when he had entered it.

Valerie Hobson

## Star of screen and scandal

**V**ALERIE HOBSON, who has died aged 51, was an actress who played in many of the real pre-war English dream women: beautiful, clothes-conscious, even-tempered, a trifle haughty, but a reliably unshakable rock in time of trouble.

She played *Charlie* many times for the British stage and cinema, as the English teacher in the monarch in *The King and I* at Drury Lane. After this, amid much publicity about a golden pair who could well end up in 10 Downing Street, she gave up acting to marry the rising government minister John Profumo. In less than a decade she was supporting her "husband" after it was revealed that he had shared in favours of Christine Keeler with a Soviet diplomat while he was Minister for War, the scandal which helped bring down Harold Macmillan as Prime Minister.

It was Hobson who first produced a dry towel for Keeler at Clevedon after the girl's own towel had been soaked during horseplay around the pool in which she had been swimming naked. It indicated the same mixture of decency and decorum that had marked her work as an actress. The woman who called her only a "dishes-horse" without warmth or feeling were to be proved wrong when disaster struck. Just as those who thought her generous (once told that friend's domestic servant had run out of cigarettes, she casually gave her a box of 20) was no more than a fair-weather phenomenon in a privileged woman were to be proved wrong.

If the *grande dame* role in its late reality was less rewarding than it had been in fiction, Hobson's strong sculpted features never be-

trayed it publicly during the more than 30 dignified years between disaster and her death. She never recoiled on the vow she had made to give up acting after her marriage, but the repeated screenings of her best films of the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s were enough to keep memories of her fresh.

The sight of her indulging in pious chit-chat in the stately garden with Dennis Price as the avenging class-war assassin in *Kind Hearts and Coronets*, playing the oblivious wife of the high-born inventor who has just been blown up in great puffs of smoke clearly visible behind her, was one of the joys of British cinema. She was especially good in Her Ladyship roles, including the ally and patron of Arnold Bennett's *The Card*, played by Alec Guinness.

The daughter of a Royal Navy captain, she was born in Larne in Northern Ireland during the first world war. At the age of two she loved wrapping a bath towel around herself and pretending to be the Queen of Sheba. At three she took dancing lessons and appeared at concerts as Cupid, dressed in pink tulle and carrying a silver bow and arrow. At five she was taken to London twice a week from the family home in Hampshire to be taught ballet by the fashionable teacher Espinosa. These lessons were intended to give her "grace," a great middle-class parental ambition of the era.

The ambition was especially powerful in the case of Hobson, who by her own account was then far less attractive than her sister. "I thought this out carefully," she once said, "why I went on the stage. Why I needed an audience. I was a very plain, wishy-washy child. Large, wishy eyes. A real gum-drop. Awful. My sister was exqui-

sited. She could never believe this pasty-faced mouse was her sister. Everybody called me Monkey."

The ballet classes helped point her towards the stage. She had no doubt she would succeed; as in her adult life, she could not concede the possibility of failure. She was quick and moved well. Then a spell of scarlet fever confined her to bed and by the time she got up again she was too tall for ballet.

She was only nine when she heard at the ballet school that the great impresario C.B. Cochran was holding an audition for *White Birds*. She persuaded her father to let her "keep inside the stage door, then dashed into the theatre where she literally bumped into Cochran himself. He was so charmed by her spirit that he promised her a role and

offer that had her, under a Universal contract, making six films, usually in horror genres. *The Bride of Frankenstein*, *The Werewolf of London* and *The Great Impersonation*. Back in London at 19, she was offered the lead in *Jump for Joy* by Douglas Fairbanks Junior. She saw this as the turning point in her career.

Soon the London-based Hungarian producer Alexander Korda discovered her and cast her in the stiff-upper-lip drama *The Drunk*, making her the first British film star to be filmed in Technicolor. At a lunch at Pinewood studios after the film was completed, she met the producer Anthony Havelock-Allan, who became her first husband and by whom she had a son, Simon — who was born mentally disabled, sent to a home and died early — and another son, Mark.

Her future was assured with a Korda long-term contract and appearances in Denham studio productions of *Q. Planes* with Laurence Olivier and Ralph Richardson, *The Spy in Black* with Conrad Veidt and *This Man Is News*, made by Havelock-Allan with her on loan from Korda. After the war she was rarely absent from any British film requiring her blend of stately, disciplined beauty, including *Estrella* in David Lean's *Great Expectations* in 1946.

When she married John Profumo she was as a rarity — back on the stage for *The King and I* at Drury Lane. The producers would not let her curtail her contract but her subsequent pregnancy — she and Profumo had one son — and a doctor's letter changed their minds. She lived handsomely and uneventfully as Mrs Profumo in a Nash-designed house in Regent's Park until scandal reared its head, after which she kept her dignity and helped her husband with his long-time charity work at Tynbyes Hall in the East End.



Class act... Valerie Hobson kept her dignity intact after the disgrace of her husband, John Profumo

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### A Country Diary

**CASTRO VERDE, PORTUGAL:** Just an hour north of the tourist concentrations in the Algarve lies a region known as the Alentejo (which translates as "beyond the Tagus"). Occupying most of central Portugal, it is one of the poorest, most sparsely populated regions in the country. In the Lower Alentejo there are no cities or large towns and the country comprises open rolling plains interspersed with olive or cork-oak groves. But to the east of Castro Verde the land sheds even this agricultural variety and spreads as a vast steppe. The only relief in this empty and magical landscape is provided by the odd stream, which has incised a folded course through the tableland, or by an occasional crumbling outcrop — an ancient relic of some seam of harder stone. During our visit the entire panorama was a subtle mixture of terracotta, ash and pale ochre, while above thick November clouds pressed down on the place like an endless slate. Together these elements created a strange,

contradictory mood — of seasonal exhaustion and of sombre grandeur, but also of anticipation, as if so quiet and colourless a place must be the scene for something unexpected. And for us it certainly was. As we drove along a flock of white-winged birds rose briefly in alarm at a pair of passing ravens. When they landed we recognised them as Little Bustards, long-legged, long-necked steppe-dwelling birds that have been driven from many countries by modern agricultural methods. Iberia now holds half the world's population and their distribution in the peninsula defines the parameters of Europe's last great steppe-land — a roughly rectangular block running south-west to north-east across Spain and Portugal. Our birds were a wintering flock of 250, which, in 20 years of watching these rare birds, was the largest congregation I'd ever seen. My previous best was only 11, and I'd seen this group just an hour earlier on the same day.

### CORRECTIONS AND CLARIFICATIONS

**IN A REPORT** headed, After 30 years, the funerals go on... page 3, November 9, we referred to the funeral in Holland last month of John Watherston Menzies "of Staffordshire". J.W. Menzies, DFC, was, in fact, a Surrey man. He had served in the Staffordshire Regiment before becoming a pilot with 151 Special Duties Squadron, RAF. The pilot's sister, Mona, had been in touch with his family long before the discovery of his body, and was told about it immediately.

**THE BOOKSELLER** magazine, which figured in an item in our Diary, page 22, November 13, has asked us to make it clear that the front page from which we quoted extensively, concluding with "1988 George Soros publishes the book no one dare ignore..." was not part of the magazine's editorial coverage. It was entirely, along with the inside front cover, an advertisement from Mr Soros's publisher.

### Appreciation

**Donald MacLeary** writes: I first saw Svetlana Beriosova (obituary, November 12) dance at Sadlers Wells Theatre when I was a student at the then Sadlers Wells Ballet School, in 1951. I can't remember the name of the ballet, but I was mesmerised by her wonderful presence and maturity. She was about 19 at the time. As a student I marvelled at her inventive interpretations, especially in Cranko's *The Shadow* and Ashton's *Ronald and Armina*. I was an extra in *Sleeping Beauty* when she made her debut as Aurora. Her beautiful line and dazzling smile were incredibly moving.

In 1959 I was chosen by Ninette de Valois to dance with her in *Swan Lake*. I was 21. For the next 14 years I had the honour to partner her and get to know this remarkable woman. She was very caring and was always there if I had problems. It was difficult to return her kindness as she was a very strong and independent person. She loved books, paintings, children and animals. She was a true friend until the end.

### Birthdays

Prof Chinua Achebe, novelist, poet and educationalist, 68; Glenda Bailey, editor, Marie Claire, 40; Michael Billington, writer and critic, 58; Frank Bruno, boxer, 37; Willie Carson, former jockey and commentator, 56; Joanna Fretwell, actress, 54; Griff Rhys Jones, comedian, writer, 45; Prof Sir Magdi Yacoub, cardiothoracic surgeon, 63.

### Death Notices

**THOMAS**, George, aged 77, father of Robert George Thom, passed away peacefully at home, 117 St John's Road, London, on November 14, 1998. Burial at St John's Church, London. Family notice.

### In Memoriam

**FRANCIS**, Elizabeth, 1929-1997. With love, Tony, Sally, Helen and Jack. 8770 place your announcement telephone 0171 239 4707 or fax 0171 239 4707 between 9am and 5pm Mon-Fri.



Financial Editor: Alex Brummer  
Telephone: 0171-239-9610  
Fax: 0171-833-4456

# FinanceGuardian

## Part-timers in mortgage trap

Lenders and benefit system fail homeowners, says Shelter

Phillip Inman

**P**EOPLE in part-time or self-employment are three times more likely than permanent employees to fall into mortgage arrears and lose their home, according to a report by Shelter. The charity for homeless people said it had uncovered a strong link between homeowners who struggled to pay their mortgages and the shift to insecure jobs.

It said the problem was likely to worsen. Nine million workers are self-employed or take part-time jobs. By 2006, says the report, 11 million people will fit this category.

The charity said mortgage companies and the Government had failed homeowners who see their incomes rise and fall during the year and sometimes cannot meet monthly payments.

The charity said one in four homeowners — a total of 2.5 million people — are affected by job insecurity or unemployment at the moment. Last month figures produced by the Government showed a 20 per cent rise in the number of homeowners threatened with eviction. Some 20,196 mortgage holders were taken to court in England and Wales between July and October, the highest figure since early 1996.

Chris Holmes, Shelter's director, said a slowdown in the economy could hit many families further into arrears and homelessness. He said mortgage companies needed to provide simple, cheap insurance policies that could be used to protect against short-term falls in income.

At the moment most policies are regarded as worthless because they do not take effect for several months, by which time a house has been

repossessed, and are full of restrictive clauses, excluding many types of homeowner.

He said the Government should also shoulder some of the responsibility and offer a new benefit aimed at mortgage-holders on low incomes, providing them with a safety net while they are in work. There should also be an increase in the supply and quality of social housing and an independent regulator to oversee mortgage protection.

The Council of Mortgage Lenders, which represents the majority of the banks and building societies with mortgage products, said it agreed with many of the report's recommendations. The council's director general, Michael Coogan, said lenders were in talks with the Government about the launch of a "baseline" mortgage insurance policy that would include people in less secure employment not covered by existing schemes. He emphasised that state benefits needed to be "dovetailed" with private insurance if the plan was to be successful.

Single parent runs risk of losing house if he takes insecure job



Wayne Davies (above) and family face dilemma

**W**AYNE Davies, a former carer for disabled children, is unable to go back to work without taking a risk that could jeopardise his mortgage payments and could lead to repossession of his house, writes Phillip Inman.

Mr Davies is a single parent who has looked after his two young children since his wife left him 18 months ago.

He has no qualifications and believes he is unlikely to find a well-paid, full-time job, says his home in Gosport, Hampshire.

Yet that is what he needs if he is to make up for the loss of benefits that add up, he said, to £810 per month and more, once childcare and travel costs are taken into account.

Instead it is likely he will be encouraged by his local benefits office to join the growing army of people who

accept insecure jobs. But he said he cannot pursue just any kind of work.

His main concern is that few employers would allow him to take time off to look after his two children during holidays. He is also prevented from taking work while the Government insists that homeowners must wait nine months after they lose a job before their mortgage costs are paid by the state. And mortgage protection plans offered by leading lenders are little different — they are also often delayed by between three to six months before payments begin.

"I can't afford to take an insecure job because if it disappears I lose my house,"

Mr Davies cannot afford to take out a mortgage protection plan anyway after building up arrears of £2,000 and following an eight-months battle with his lender, Abbey National, which landed him with a bill of £1,300 for its legal costs.

### American Notebook

## Mitch's impact is brought home



Martin Kettle

**A**LL day, every day, American television viewers are fed enormous amounts of frequently dramatic weather news. Because this is an insular continent, most of it is about the United States. Bad weather in Canada, never mind Cuba, rarely makes it to the screen.

Hurricane Mitch has been different. Its scale — more than 10,000 dead, as many as 3 million people homeless and without support — has triggered a response unmatched since the Armenian earthquake of 1989.

Much of the policy response to Mitch in Washington has focused on debt cancellation. A moratorium or cancellation of some debts is expected to be agreed within days.

The Clinton administration is said to be "putting the finishing touches" to a huge post-Mitch aid effort. But this is becoming an aid effort with a difference, and one that is not easily measured in the \$90 million set aside for emergency action. The strategy is twofold. The first aim is to address the immediate human crisis.

But the second part of the plan speaks to something much more material and less high-minded than instant humanitarian concern. The US is terrified of the economic

displacement effects of Mitch. Three million people with neither homes nor jobs are looking north.

So far, it has to be said, the evidence that hundreds of thousands of impoverished Hondurans and Nicaraguans are heading for California is thin on the ground. Mexican officials said last week that 400 Guatemalans had crossed illegally into Mexico — hardly mass migration.

But this misreads the nature of population movements between Latin America and the US. The devastation in the region is so great that its still hard for people to move out of the stricken zone. Once the aid kicks in, movement will start.

That is why the Clinton administration faces radical choices if it is to help rebuild Honduras and its neighbour in the ways that it wants. So far, the administration's Latin American policy has concentrated overwhelmingly on trade. But Mitch has destroyed not only trade but also the possibility of sustained economic activity of any kind in the short term.

One prospect already under way is to allow citizens of the four Latin American nations most directly affected who are already in the US to be allowed to stay until the crisis was deemed to be over. But the really radical question is what to do with the residents of the economically stricken region. Ideally, they would be able to live, earn and become economically active in their native countries. But if that is not possible, then governments, and the US in particular, will have to intervene in the regional labour market more directly than before.

## Pacific Rim tariff talks break down

Charlotte Denny

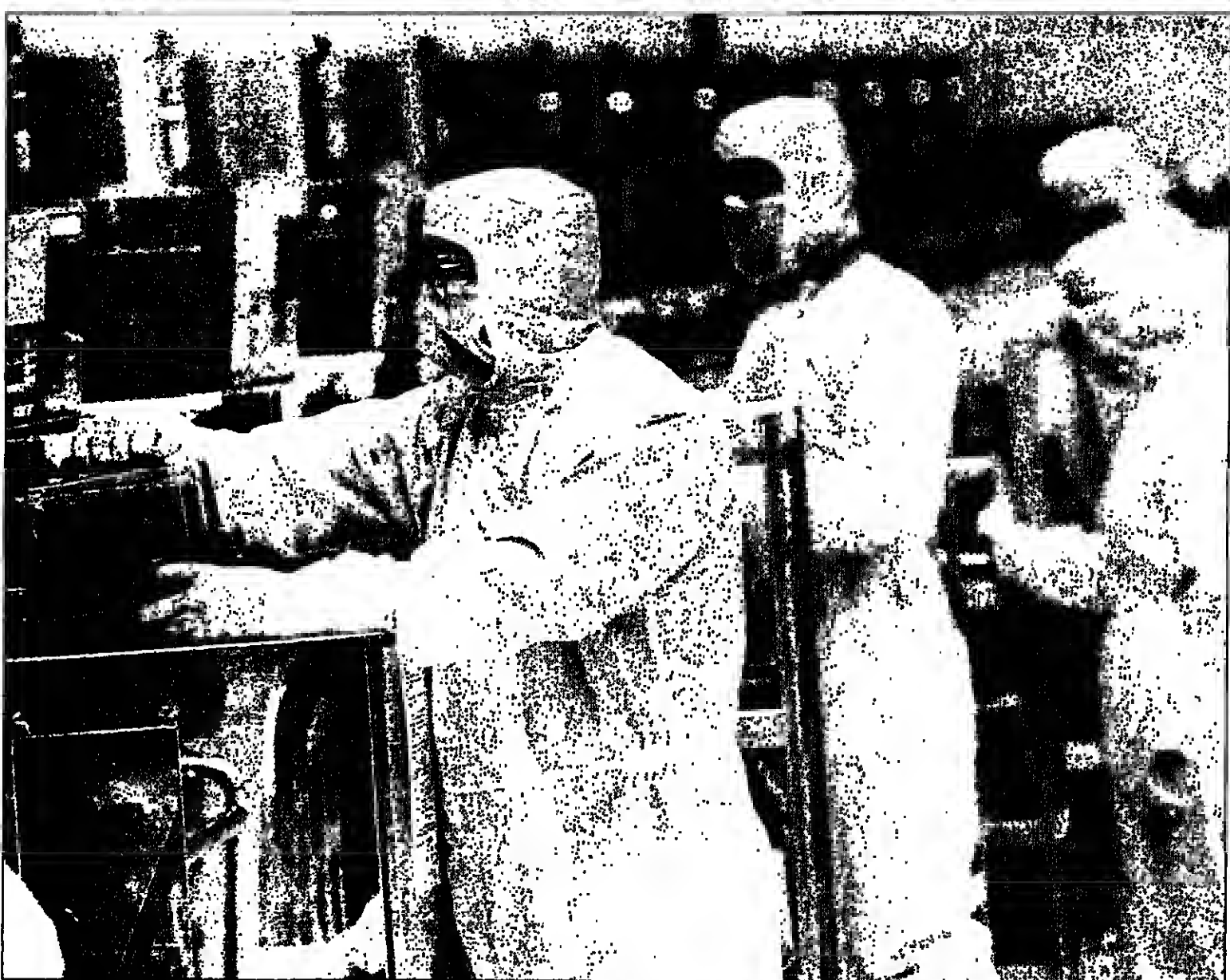
**P**ACIFIC Rim countries yesterday failed to clinch a trade deal seen as crucial in convincing world markets that the region is still committed to opening its borders to foreign goods, despite experiencing the worst financial crisis for 50 years.

After four days of intense negotiations in the Malaysian capital of Kuala Lumpur, officials from 16 members of the Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation organisation were unable to resolve Japanese objections to a deal which would have reduced tariffs covering \$1,500 billion (£900 billion) of global trade.

The Japanese government, which is set to unveil another economic stimulus plan this morning, objects to cutting tariffs on wood and fish products. In a face-saving compromise, the Apec ministers agreed to send their proposals to the Geneva-based World Trade Organisation for consideration. US officials were attempting yesterday to put the best light on the failure to conclude the agreement.

"Two days ago, we felt there was a high probability that the whole initiative would collapse," US trade representative Charlene Barshefsky told reporters. "From our point of view, moving forward is the key."

The disagreement has put



The crisis is likely to impose a further toll on the south Wales economy this week when the semi-conductor silicon wafer foundry Wafer-Fab, owned by Hong Kong-based QPL International, announces job losses among the 1,000-strong workforce at its plant in Newport. Gwent PHOTOGRAPH: JEFF MORRIS

the US, the deal's biggest supporter, at loggerheads with Japan. Tariff cuts in wood and fish would run politically sensitive reforms at a time when the Japanese economy is already under strain.

Tokyo is set to announce a \$196 billion boost to spending today, along with tax cuts and

other measures to revive flagging output. The record stimulus package, the second in six months, is expected to cheer the markets.

But the failure to conclude the Apec deal will hit financial confidence in the region. Other countries expressed disappointment that the meet-

ing had failed to achieve the goal set in Vancouver last year of trade liberalisation in nine sectors, part of the ultimate goal of achieving a total free-trade zone by 2020.

Three-quarters of British businesses remain committed to trading with Asia, despite the region's economic woes,

according to a survey published today. The Confederation of British Industry survey shows that only 5 per cent of companies plan to withdraw from the Asia-Pacific area.

"The economic and political instability in Asia-Pacific has caused short-term insecurity among UK investors," CBI president Sir Clive Thompson said.

"But companies with long-term experience in Asia continue to have confidence in operating there, with some companies actually seeing opportunities to benefit from economic turmoil."

## Government to unlock credit union shackles

Jill Treanor

**T**HE Government today unveils plans making it easier to set up and join credit unions. The proposals form the backbone of the Government's aim to tackle "social exclusion" and help provide banking facilities for the 3.5 million people who do not have bank accounts.

The move coincides with a call from the Joseph Rowntree Foundation for tax credits to be introduced as an incentive for banks and other financial institutions to get involved in such areas.

There are 600 credit unions dotted around the country. Patricia Hewitt, Economic Secretary to the Treasury, has already urged banks and building societies to follow their American equivalents

by tailoring their products to the needs of people deprived of banking facilities.

She is endorsing the Joseph Rowntree Foundation report, which argues that "small is backable". Written by the New Economics Foundation think-tank, the report highlights five models which provide finance to half a million people:

- credit unions;
- community loan funds, which provide start-up capital for community regeneration;
- micro-finance funds, offering small loans to local entrepreneurs;
- mutual guarantee societies, formal associations of small and medium size enterprises;
- social banks which are dedicated to social or environmental objectives.

**TOURIST RATES — BANK SELLS**

Australia 2.536	Germany 2.712	Malaysia 6.31	Singapore 2.58
Austria 19.02	Greece 454.64	Mexico 6.11	Spain 162.27
Belgium 55.58	Hong Kong 12.50	Netherlands 3.048	Sweden 11.12
Canada 2.495	India 69.97	New Zealand 3.01	Switzerland 2.22
Cyprus 0.801	Ireland 1.082	Norway 12.13	Turkey 470.940
Denmark 10.38	Israel 7.00	Portugal 275.75	USA 1.615
Finland 8.331	Italy 2.897	Saudi Arabia 6.12	
France 9.069			

*Sourced by Reuters (including source) and other sources*

## Jobseeker Oates may pay price

Tom McGhie

**M**ARKS and Spencer refused to comment last night on reports that Keith Oates, the company's deputy chairman and managing director, may be asked to resign this week.

Mr Oates is believed to have paid the price for lobbying non-executive directors to become the new chief executive, after Sir Richard Greenbury, M&S's chairman made it clear that he preferred Peter Salisbury, joint managing director, for the job.

Non-executive directors led by Sir Martin Jacob believe that, following the Oates campaign, the working relationship between the deputy chairman and Sir Richard has become untenable.

Mr Oates is M&S's best paid director, on a salary of \$645,000. But, as he is not on a service contract, he would be forced to negotiate compensation for his 14 years' service.

For the past week, the M&S board has been meeting behind closed doors to find a solution to the succession problem, but this is the first time that political manoeuvrings

for the top job have been made public.

To add to the company's embarrassment, it recently announced its worst financial results for five years. Non-executives are dismayed that friends of Mr Oates have leaked his ambitions to the press, giving the public a rare insight into battles at the top level of the firm.

The board has decided that it will not be stamped into a decision. To give themselves a breathing space, it is likely that an announcement will be made this week that a date will be set for the appointment of a chief executive.

Suggestions that Allan Leighton, Asda's chief executive, has been sounded out were dismissed as "nonsense" yesterday by his spokesperson.

Contrary to speculation, Sir Richard is also expected to remain chairman until he retires in 2001.

The departure of Mr Oates would leave room for the board to make an outside appointment for a non-executive deputy chairman. Whoever is appointed would have to be a powerful and respected figure in the retail industry, capable of standing up to Sir Richard.

## Juice cafés will unleash lassis on health-conscious consumers

**A**FTER gourmet coffee tea-bars, fruit juice is the latest drink to get a high-street makeover, writes Charlotte Denny.

A new company, Jus, plans to open a chain specialising in fresh fruit and vegetable juices as well as more exotic items. The first five Jus cafés will appear over the next

year. According to managing director Julian Dyer, Jus will deliver "a genuine alternative-destination eating experience".

As well as 20 types of juice, the chain will sell lassis — Indian-style yoghurt drinks — smoothies (ice-cream and fruit juice blends) and milkshakes made with juice. Themed coffee chains

have introduced drinks such as "a tall, wet, skinny latte with wings" — coffee with extra steamed milk, to take away. The tea-shop has been updated by Whitbards, the specialist chain whose T-bar offers customers lemonade iced tea and mango sorbet.

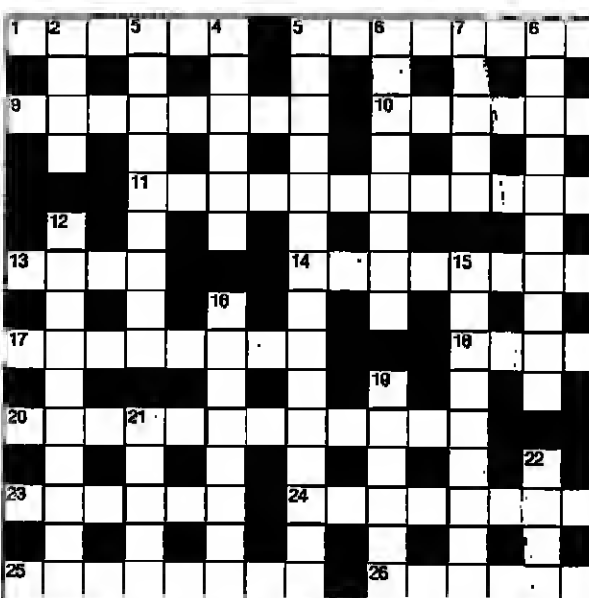
Jus is targeting the health-conscious consumer and will provide informa-

tion on vitamin and mineral levels in its drinks. "The western dietary supplement market grows at 15 per cent per annum, with families' attention to nutritional intake becoming increasingly important," the chain says.

The company is seeking private backers to raise £1.25 million, aiming to float early in 2000.

### Guardian Crossword No 21,433

Set by Rufus



#### Across

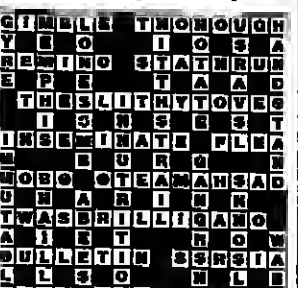
- 1 Something that may extinguish fire after crash in aircraft engine (5)
- 5 Torn between father and a love initially of mother, say (8)
- 9 Post one doesn't want bodyguard on vessel (4,4)
- 10 One living in high mountains, alpine perhaps? (5)
- 11 Get up before ten (4,3,5)
- 13 The essential point for law-breakers, say (4)
- 14 They give a seat to one standing (8)
- 17 One blow after another makes great entertainment (5,3)
- 18 Herb's sure about foreign ways and is sorry (4)
- 20 Flat-finding agencies (5,6)
- 23 Who had ordered a seat on a Jumbo? (5)
- 24 Defeated by the democratic process? (5)
- 25 Exist on next to nothing, being humble (5)
- 26 Save cash (5)

#### Down

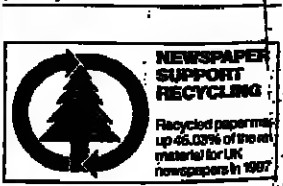
- 2 A curious sort of plant (4)
- 3 They provide music for money (9)
- 4 It takes the strain out of brewing (3,3)
- 5 Don't try to fool me — don't push an alternative (4,3,5,3)
- 6 Submitted and faced to wall (8)
- 7 No more old army slag from Poona? (5)
- 8 There's nothing wrong with a closed shop in the monastery (3,2,5)
- 12 For the record, Berlin invented it in 1897 (10)
- 15 A carry-over of marriage ritual (5)
- 16 Link accepted by spital female gossip (8)
- 19 Court card? (5)
- 21 They have a central meeting place (5)
- 22 Now this will get you nowhere (4)

**WINNERS OF PRIZE PUZZLE 21,433**  
This week's winners of a Collins English Millennium Dictionary are: Marjorie Rolfe of Walsford, Herefordshire; Simon Booth of Lancaster; Stephanie Farr of London; W4, David Crow of Wokingham, Berkshire; and F. Carnevali of Birmingham.

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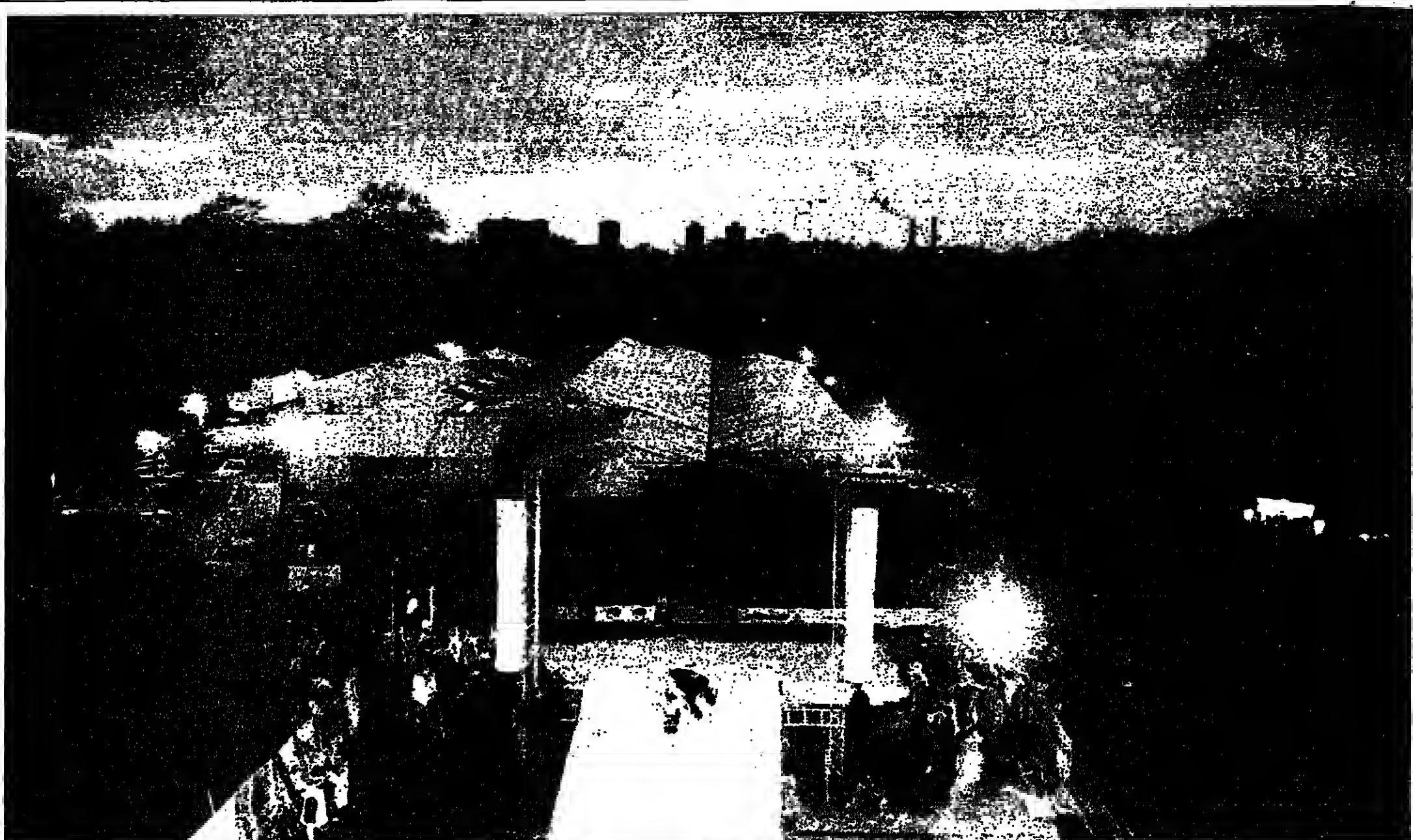




## PARTING SHOT

Pisto artist... snowboarders from France, Spain, Finland, the United States and Britain qualified for prizes totalling £25,000 in the Board-X festival at Battersea Park, the highlight being the "London Big Air", a 60-metre jump demanding tricks and stunts in addition to height.

Photograph by Tom Jenkins



## Real men don't need blondes

## SCREEN BREAK

READ in the weekend papers that jars of Chicken Tonight's new range of Sizzle and Stir sauces are being recalled because of a production defect. I hope the same fate does not befall the new public face of Chicken Tonight, Ian Wright, whose chat show, Friday Night's All Stars, has more than a jar of Sizzle and Stir sauce over its head.

The set seems too cramped for a start, barely big enough to contain Wright's baggy black leather trousers. Then there's the crowd, bearing down on our hero from three sides, y-

Adams seemed on the verge of tears. Genuine emotion on a chat show in the Friday night post-pub zone is pretty well unheard of.

hooning like a bunch of lads on a Saturday night who have just appeared a light outside the chip shop. Some nonsense with a door-person played by a blonde model called Caprice didn't really work, and the heart didn't exactly leap at the sight of the first guest, Ulla Jonsson. It is just conceivable that Ms Jonsson may once have had something interesting to impart to a Friday night television audience, but since she's had more exposure of late than Scott of the Antarctic, those days are long gone.

If the idea of the cosy set was to encourage some sexual chemistry between Wright and Ulla, it worked, since the "interview" consisted primarily of the pair exchanging bodily innuendoes while she played with her hair and he with his leather trousers.

Admittedly, the title sequence — shots of Wright taking a shower to the music from Shaft — had tipped me off that we weren't exactly in for The Ascent of Man, but it might have helped Wright along a little if the first guest of a brand new series had not been round the block quite as often as Ms Jonsson.

When Wright's old Arsenal mucker Tony Adams appeared, however, the jocosity began to work, and the show took off. Adams's story is familiar enough but it never fails to move. And seeing him not quizzed by a skilled inter-

viewer (definitely not) but joshing with someone with whom he shared a dressing-room somehow added a new dimension.

The affection between the two footballers was palpable. At one point, Adams laughed nervously and said: "We've talked like this hundreds of times, Wright, and 'ere we are doing it in front of all these people." He seemed on the verge of tears. Coming across genuine emotion on a chat show is surprising enough at the best of times. In the Friday night post-pub zone it is pretty well unheard of.

Here was a real illustration of what makes a football team work. Wright's chipper demeanour clearly played no small part in making the Arsenal dressing-room a suitable recovery zone for Adams, and you could see why Harry Redknapp was so keen to take the striker across London. The producers are probably wrong to have the viewers will warm to Wright in the same way, which I think we might. But a few more footy guests would help. If Wright could get his West Ham colleagues John Hartson and Eyal Berkovic on the same show, I'd tune in.

It was illuminating to compare the likable Adams with another fallen idol and England captain, Will Carling. As a guide on John Inverdale's On Side, it is tempting to say that a sport gets the brooms if Carling and that Carling is a product of professional rugby union's headlong rush into vengence, but the story is more complex than that.

Adams is demonstrably a character who has taken a long hard look at himself, while Carling is, to use the fashionable terminology, still in denial. Time and again, Inverdale gave Carling the chance to express some regret for his behaviour, but the player only regretted "the perception that parts of the media put out there". Carling kept banging on about "the perception", while his body language, his shifty expression, and every wince and wobble were helping to deepen that perception. It will be some time, I suspect, before Carling is offered a Chicken Tonight slot.

Michael Owen, meanwhile, is the new face of Walkers Crisps. He has replaced Gary Lineker, providing the first of the new series of "Think It's All Over with one of its better running backs; the only one in fact suitable for discussion in a respectable newspaper, the others revolving mostly around the size of Patrick Vieira's penis, and the sexual proclivities of David Beckham and Ms Posh Spice. I stick to my view that this programme should have been condemned as unfit for human consumption about four series ago. It now follows a sitcom on BBC1 called Dinnerladies which served up a joke about the bread-man's "crusty bloomers". Perhaps the shows could be incinerated together. Then, maybe, we could lay to rest the absurd nonsense that we produce better TV comedy than the nation that gave us Seinfeld, Frasier, and The Simpsons.

## Weekend results

## RUGBY UNION

WORLD CUP	W	D	L	F	A	Pts
England	1	0	0	0	0	0
France	1	0	0	0	0	0
Wales	1	0	0	0	0	0

Pool 2	W	D	L	F	A	Pts
England	1	0	0	0	0	0
France	1	0	0	0	0	0
Wales	1	0	0	0	0	0

Pool 3	W	D	L	F	A	Pts
England	1	0	0	0	0	0
France	1	0	0	0	0	0
Wales	1	0	0	0	0	0

Pool 4	W	D	L	F	A	Pts
England	1	0	0	0	0	0
France	1	0	0	0	0	0
Wales	1	0	0	0	0	0

Pool 5	W	D	L	F	A	Pts
England	1	0	0	0	0	0
France	1	0	0	0	0	0
Wales	1	0	0	0	0	0

Pool 6	W	D	L	F	A	Pts
England	1	0	0	0	0	0
France	1	0	0	0	0	0
Wales	1	0	0	0	0	0

Pool 7	W	D	L	F	A	Pts
England	1	0	0	0	0	0
France	1	0	0	0	0	0
Wales	1	0	0	0	0	0

Pool 8	W	D	L	F	A	Pts
England	1	0	0	0	0	0
France	1	0	0	0	0	0
Wales	1	0	0	0	0	0

Pool 9	W	D	L	F	A	Pts
England	1	0	0	0	0	0
France	1	0	0	0	0	0
Wales	1	0	0	0	0	0

Pool 10	W	D	L	F	A	Pts
England	1	0	0	0	0	0
France	1	0	0	0	0	0
Wales	1	0	0	0	0	0

Pool 11	W	D	L	F	A	Pts
England	1	0	0	0	0	0
France	1	0	0	0	0	0
Wales	1	0	0	0	0	0

Pool 12	W	D	L	F	A	Pts
England	1	0	0	0	0	0
France	1	0	0	0	0	0
Wales	1	0	0	0	0	0

Pool 13	W	D	L	F	A	Pts
England	1	0	0	0	0	0
France	1	0	0	0	0	0
Wales	1	0	0	0	0	0

Pool 14	W	D	L	F	A	Pts
England	1	0	0	0	0	0
France	1	0	0	0	0	0
Wales	1	0	0	0	0	0

Pool 15	W	D	L	F	A	Pts
England	1	0	0	0	0	0
France	1	0	0	0	0	0
Wales	1	0	0	0	0	0

Pool 16	W	D	L	F	A	Pts
England	1	0	0	0	0	0
France	1	0	0	0	0	0
Wales	1	0	0	0	0	0

Pool 17	W	D	L	F	A	Pts
England	1	0	0	0	0	0
France	1	0	0	0	0	0
Wales	1	0	0	0	0	0

Pool 18	W	D	L	F	A	Pts
England	1	0	0	0	0	0
France	1	0	0	0	0	0
Wales	1	0	0	0	0	0

Pool 19	W	D	L	F	A	Pts
England	1	0	0	0	0	0
France	1	0	0	0	0	0
Wales	1	0	0	0	0	0

Pool 20	W	D	L	F	A	Pts
England	1	0	0	0	0	0
France	1	0	0	0	0	0
Wales	1	0	0	0	0	0

Pool 21	W	D	L	F	A	Pts
England	1	0	0	0	0	0
France	1	0	0	0	0	0
Wales	1	0	0	0	0	0

Pool 22	W	D	L	F	A	Pts
England	1	0	0	0	0	0
France	1	0	0	0	0	0
Wales	1	0	0	0	0	0

Pool 23	W	D	L	F	A	Pts
England	1	0	0	0	0	0
France	1	0	0	0	0	0
Wales	1	0	0	0	0	0

Pool 24	W	D	L	F	A	Pts
England	1	0	0	0	0	0
France	1	0	0	0	0	0
Wales	1	0	0	0	0	0

Pool 25	W	D	L	F	A	Pts
England	1	0	0	0	0	0
France	1	0	0	0	0	0
Wales	1	0	0	0	0	0

Pool 26	W	D	L	F	A	Pts
England	1	0	0	0	0	0
France	1	0	0	0	0	0
Wales	1	0	0	0	0	0

Pool 27	W	D	L	F	A	Pts
England	1	0	0	0	0	0
France	1	0	0	0	0	0
Wales	1	0	0	0	0	0

Pool 28	W	D	L	F	A	Pts
England	1	0	0	0	0	0
France	1	0	0	0	0	0
Wales	1	0	0	0	0	0

## RUGBY LEAGUE

## THIRD TEST

W	D	L	F	A	Pts
England	1	0	0	0	0
France	1	0	0	0	0
Wales	1	0	0	0	0

W	D	L	F	A	Pts
England	1	0	0	0	0
France	1	0	0	0	0
Wales	1	0	0	0	0

W	D	L	F	A	Pts
England	1	0	0	0	0
France	1	0	0	0	0
Wales	1	0	0	0	0

W	D	L	F	A	Pts
England	1	0	0	0	0
France	1	0	0	0	0
Wales	1	0	0	0	0

W	D	L	F	A	Pts
England	1	0	0	0	0
France	1	0	0	0	0
Wales	1	0	0	0	0

W	D	L	F	A	Pts
England	1	0	0	0	0
France	1	0	0	0	0
Wales	1	0	0	0	0

W	D	L	F	A	Pts
England	1	0	0	0	0
France	1	0	0	0	0
Wales	1	0	0	0	0

W	D	L	F	A	Pts
England	1	0	0	0	0
France	1	0	0	0	0
Wales	1	0	0	0	0

W	D	L	F	A	Pts
England	1	0	0	0	0
France	1	0	0	0	0
Wales	1	0	0	0	0

W	D	L	F	A	Pts
England	1	0	0	0	0
France	1	0	0	0	0
Wales	1	0	0	0	0

W	D	L	F	A	Pts
England	1	0	0	0	0
France	1	0	0	0	0
Wales	1	0	0	0	0

W	D	L	F	A	Pts
England	1	0	0	0	0
France	1	0	0	0	0
Wales	1	0	0	0	0

W	D	L	F	A	Pts
England	1	0	0	0	0
France	1	0	0	0	0
Wales	1	0	0	0	0

W	D	L	F	A	Pts
England	1	0	0	0	0
France	1	0	0	0	0
Wales	1	0	0	0	0

W	D	L	F	A	Pts
England	1	0	0	0	0
France	1	0	0	0	0
Wales	1	0	0	0	0

W	D	L	F	A	Pts
England	1	0	0	0	0
France	1	0	0	0	0
Wales	1	0	0	0	0

W	D	L	F	A	Pts
England	1	0	0	0	0
France	1	0	0	0	0
Wales	1	0	0	0	0

W	D	L	F	A	Pts
England	1	0	0	0	0
France	1	0	0	0	0
Wales	1	0	0	0	0

W	D	L	F	A	Pts
England	1	0	0	0	0
France	1	0	0	0	0
Wales	1	0	0	0	0

W	D	L
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## Premiership

Arsenal 0 Tottenham Hotspur 0

# Graham looking back to the future

David Lacey

**S**OMETIMES, in order to make teams harder to beat, it is necessary to make them harder to watch. In this respect the sound of the Arsenal crowd chanting "boring, boring Tottenham" after Spurs had forced a goalless draw at Highbury on Saturday must have been music to George Graham's ears.

In fact, the present Tottenham situation is far from boring, but as Graham sets about restoring the team to something like its former splendour there is bound to be a period of retrenchment which may make less than compelling viewing. After all, people can only watch foundations being dug for so long before starting to wonder what shape the actual building work will take.

For the moment Graham can bask briefly in the satisfaction of having made Spurs sufficiently resilient to thwart Arsène Wenger's double-winning attack while seeing his own old Arsenal defence again provide evidence of its durability. After taking over at Highbury in 1986 Graham's first north London derby ended 0-0 and White Hart Lane would surely testify for even half of what followed.

The sight of Graham sitting on the visitors' bench at Arsenal was hardly a novelty.

Since his dismissal in 1995, followed by a year's ban for accepting illegal payments on Scandinavian transfers, he had already returned three times with Leeds United in Premiership and FA Cup.

But whereas before Graham had been warmly greeted by supporters who remembered the two championships and string of cup successes won by Arsenal during his nine years as manager, he now arrived to shouts of "traitor" and "Judas" from the sort of fans who worship shirts rather than people.

Sensible Arsenal followers still appreciate what Graham did for the club even if they regretted the manner of his departure and only an empty mind would think any less of his achievements simply because he is now in charge of their closest rivals. In any case, as Graham pointed out: "I can't ask the fans to pick my job."

On Saturday's evidence Graham has lost none of his ability to organise players for a specific task and it was slightly ironic to find two Norwegian, Espen Baardsen and Steffen Iversen, the principal agents of Arsenal's frustration when one, Rune Haugen, had helped bring about his downfall as Arsenal manager. Baardsen's goal-keeping was inspired while Iversen's performance, in both attack and defence, epitomised the new willingness to work which Graham has brought to Tottenham's game.

With Darren Anderson curbing his attacking instincts to help Allan Nielsen block the forward runs of Patrick Vieira and Emmanuel Petit, Spurs managed to disrupt Arsenal's passing in the



Stepping ahead... George Graham leading his Tottenham players into Highbury for Saturday's game

PHOTOGRAPH: TOM JENNINGS

first half and when Wenger's team achieved a better attacking momentum in the second they still could not produce a finish to beat Baardsen.

Graham clearly enjoyed his afternoon and completed it with one of those verbal sleights of hand which are the manager's stock in trade; Arsenal had been "outstanding" where his own team's performance "can be improved upon". In other words Tottenham had managed to hold superior opposition without realising their full potential.

The reality was that Arsenal performed vigorously and positively and created numerous

scoring opportunities without ever playing outstandingly well. Dennis Bergkamp is off colour and off form and in his present condition only minutes missed. Yet Arsenal's increasingly frantic attempts to break through Spurs' massed defence cried out for the subtle touches that Bergkamp at his best can provide.

In Bergkamp's absence Wenger began the match with Marek Overmars playing through the middle alongside Nicolas Anelka and until Overmars returned to the left wing for the last half-hour Arsenal's movements remained narrow and cramped. Even then they

lacked sufficient presence in front of goal seriously to disturb Baardsen or the three centre-backs in front of him. Anelka went into the match having scored six times in seven Premiership games but the young Frenchman is still not a natural taker of goals in the manner of an Ian Wright and when he produced a fierce first-time shot on the turn two minutes before half-time Baardsen made an equally instinctive save.

Fredrik Ljungberg wasted Arsenal's best opportunity early in the second half when, with Ramon Vega needing attention and the Tottenham

defence momentarily in disarray, he was unmarked in the penalty area as he met Nigel Winterburn's centre but then failed to control the ball. "What can you say?" said the Arsenal manager later. "The spirit was there, the quality was there, everything was there for 90 minutes — Baardsen did the rest."

Wenger praised Tottenham's disciplined defending while adding: "I thought it would be a physical Tottenham performance when I saw Ginola on the bench."

So far as the physical side went Spurs came off worse, with Nielsen's one of several

cut heads. Nevertheless there must be uncertainties about David Ginola's future at Tottenham under Graham, who has never had much time for football's lilies of the field let alone a fleur-de-lis.

Arsenal will be without their influential midfielder Emmanuel Petit for the Champions League game at home to Lens a week on Wednesday. Uefa have belatedly awarded the Frenchman a yellow card following a foul he committed in Arsenal's last game in Dynamo Kiev. At the time the match observer mistakenly registered the caution to Nigel Winterburn.

So far as the physical side went Spurs came off worse, with Nielsen's one of several

## Role reversal sees north London style swap

Vivek Chaudhary points out a common bond between the Arsenal and Spurs fans, whether they like it or not

**I**T WAS a day for turning north London tradition on its head. George Graham incurred the wrath of the Arsenal faithful, the Spurs contingent sang his name, if only for a few seconds, while the team in white defended solidly as

the team in red attacked in vain.

Between them, both sets of fans found they had a common bond in Graham, whether they liked it or not. As one preview of the game put it, Graham returning to Highbury as

Tottenham manager was a bit like John Wayne joining the Apaches.

The man himself did not take a seat in the directors' box, as he usually does, for the first half. "Judas, Judas," cried the Arsenal fans as Graham entered the

lions' den oblivious to the chants. Both sets of fans were quite clear about how they felt about the other team but not quite clear how they felt about the second man to have managed both north London giants.

"I find it all quite amusing," said Deke Eichler, an Arsenal season-ticket holder. "It's a beautiful irony and that's what makes it funny."

"If they [Tottenham] had been doing really well then Graham managing them

would make it more worrying. But we are the top dogs and Graham is not as good as he used to be."

"I've got a soft spot for George Graham and we should not have been booing him," said one Arsenal fan, Chris Greeve. "It was right that the club sacked him but he did a lot for us. It doesn't matter who he manages now."

For the Spurs faithful, Graham's arrival has meant undergoing a massive transformation in attitude towards him but not his former team.

"We're looking harder to beat. We have to put Tottenham's interests first," said Derek Ferguson.

"It doesn't matter who manages us as long as we don't lose to Arsenal," said Paul Mercer.

But it seems that things will never be quite the same. Arsène Wenger praised Tottenham's "discipline and hard work" while Graham praised Arsenal's "attack and flair".

Blackburn, their appetite sharpened by a midweek Worthington Cup defeat of Newcastle, equalled United in many areas but lost the match in a few well-crafted flashes.

What Dwight Yorke and Andy Cole can configure up in a trice looked entirely beyond Kevin Davies and Nathan Blake, an \$11.5 million partnership that looked as excessively regarded as Wembley's twin towers.

Davies has not scored for Blackburn, although he would have ended that run after 35 seconds had he ruled out his tap-in. Davies has been forced recently to operate as a lone striker, a role to which he is not suited, and to find himself playing alongside Blake amounts to pretty much the same thing.

Paul Scholes shot United ahead just after the half-hour after Dwight Yorke had caught Christian Daffy in possession 30 yards from goal. There was also a goal for Yorke by half-time as Nicky Butt knocked on Beckham's low pass, a quick interchange around the edge of the area at which United currently excel.

Spared Cole's usual wastage rate — two good first-half chances passed by — United's interval lead would have been more emphatic. Sherwood's dismissal was followed by Scholes's second goal, on the hour, an opportunity that was snatched by Yorke's subtle and streetwise obstruction of defenders.

It was only left to wonder how many United would score. Instead Dario Marcolin pulled a goal back, and Blake's header brought a second. At least that ensured that Old Trafford, more like a theatre audience than a football crowd on days like this, belatedly made a bit of noise.

Manchester United 3 Blackburn Rovers 2

## Rush of blood powers United elbow

David Hopps

**M**ANCHESTER United's patchwork quilt of a pitch was yesterday dug up and re-turfed, but even the original mediocre surface could only partially explain the drowsiness which brought a false veneer of excitement to what had all the makings of another routine victory.

Blackburn's recovery from three goals down, after Tim Sherwood had foolishly got himself sent off, was spirited enough to suggest that the season is still there, but the manager Roy Hodgson was right when he summed it up as "just another glittering second prize". Their season has been full of them.

Football has little sense of morality these days, but that should not spare Sherwood. If his shifty ankle tap on David Beckham three minutes into the second half was had enough, the elbow into the face as the player reasonably ran to protest, was both puerile and unprofessional.

Hodgson should reflect upon the lack of self-control that has caused Blackburn to have five players sent off this season. Instead he was tempted by the notion that Beckham fell rather too easily. "Players do what they do and I am not prepared to moralise, but the last time someone put an elbow in my face it broke my nose," he said. Perhaps so, but a broken nose for Hodgson and a minor facial fracture for Beckham would probably cause the same psychological trauma.

"Sherwood has lifted his elbow but not elbowed anyone, and these days such a gesture is regarded as a sending-off offence," Hodgson continued. "It was an extremely minor incident, but as captain he should have known better."

"I'll probably fine him, but fines don't interest me. Fines don't make me feel any better and don't help us to win the three games when he is suspended. It's too bloody late."

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Red mist... Beckham's fall

Southampton 1 Aston Villa 4

## Dublin faces sterner tests

Martin Thorpe

**T**HE name on everyone's lips was, naturally, Dublin. But those seeking a more accurate yardstick for Villa's title aspirations should perhaps think of Manchester, London or Liverpool.

In the next 26 days United, Arsenal and Anfield's currently palsied crew will dock at Villa Park for the first time this season and it is the result of these three games rather than the five goals in the new striker's first two starts which is likely to offer a firmer fix on Villa's championship hopes.

This is not to detract from Dion Dublin's achievements, which are likely to be recognised by an England start on Wednesday.

Villa's £5.75 million signing has obviously added potency to the cause, but an opportunist punisher of lax defending is not going to win every match, especially against the likes of Arsenal and United.

As John Gregory looks to turn a club-record start of 12 League games undefeated into Villa's first championship trophy since 1981, these fixtures will test his side's other qualities. So it should be noted that there was a period in this match — seized on by the Southampton manager Dave Jones — when the Premiership leaders were more than matched by the bottom side.

After Dublin opened the scoring with a deftly-placed header on 24 minutes, Villa struggled to find the invention to shake off Southampton's pressing game. They kept possession for long periods but too often were forced backwards to do so, despite the chirpy midfield prompts of Lee Hendrie.

Villa were perhaps thankful that Southampton equalised, the goal crafted and scored by the wonderfully jinking feet of Matthew Le Tissier eight minutes into the

### Sudden impact

Dublin's first two games as a Villa

Goals	5
Attempts on target	6
Attempts off target	3
Blocked shots	0

Passing	
Goal assists	0
Passes attempted	78
Success rate	66%

Goalkeeping	
Crosses attempted	1
Success rate	0%

Defending	
Tackles attempted	5
Success rate	80%
Clearances, blocks	4

Discipline	
Fouls conceded	5
Offsides	2
Cards (yellow-red)	1-0



Garth Barry's quick ball out of defence to Stan Collymore, whose equally quick pass to Paul Merson was swept home by the England forward, and the fourth came near the end when Ebiogu nodded down Hendrie's corner and Dublin flicked the ball home.

second half. With thoughts of beating the leaders driving their play, Jones's players surged forward on the attack. Within two minutes Ugo Ebiogu's attempted clearance from the impressive Stuart Ripley's cross whacked the Villa bar, encouraging Southampton to believe that this was the perfect tactic.

But in reality the Saints had merely forgotten their status — and their plan, in pulling forward "they left the back door open again" — became the beleaguered Jones. Villa took full advantage.

The type of penetrating run from midfield which England have lacked since Paul Gascoigne's demise helped restore the visitors' lead. Encouragingly it came from Hendrie who hopes to start on Wednesday. Dublin curled in the lay-off past Paul Jones from 20 yards.

Goal No. 3 was sparked by

Garth Barry's quick ball out of defence to Stan Collymore, whose equally quick pass to Paul Merson was swept home by the England forward, and the fourth came near the end when Ebiogu nodded down Hendrie's corner and Dublin flicked the ball home.

John Gregory has told Manchester United they can buy the goalkeeper Mark Bosnich for £1 million now.

The Australian, whose contract at Villa Park runs out at the end of this season, making him available on a free transfer, is a likely replacement for Peter Schmeichel and Gregory said: "If United are concerned about the Schmeichel situation and they want to win the Premiership, then they can have Bosie for one million quid."

Alex Ferguson retorted: "I will not be offering £1 million for Bosnich. We are in no rush."

Chelsea 3 Wimbledon 0

## Zola plays master of ceremonies

Russell Thomas

**G**IANFRANCO ZOLA was destined to score the most emotional goal of his Chelsea career, one combining supreme timing and the confidence of a performer from the highest class. "There's something that seems already written down," he said, looking puzzled at such providence.

It fell to the scorer of Chelsea's first goal to spirit the dug-out and unveil Pierluigi Casiraghi's No. 10 shirt in tribute to the badly injured striker; Zola just knew he would be master of this ceremony. His team-mates swiftly joined a parade that was sincere and uplifting. The act mirrored Chelsea's football.

"I saw Gigi in hospital yesterday and he was not very well. But he sent his best wishes to me this morning and that was something that gave me drive and I was sure that I was going to play a good game," Zola said.

It was difficult to find an indifferent performer in a

team that outclassed a Wimbledon side in robust health and previously prosperous form. If Chelsea individuals have to be singled out, Zola was the game's outstanding contributor, shading Tore Andre Flo, whose towering performance in his first Premiership start, this season mocked his many omissions in the past.

Afterwards, Gianluca Vialli virtually acknowledged that this was the best Chelsea team he has selected. Yet the tribute to Casiraghi also revealed an uncomfortable truth: his replacement is a more suitable partner for Zola. Cruel accident rather than judgment, it seems, has

ensured that Flo's time has finally come. Either that, or Vialli has a blessed touch as manager as well as a player.

Vialli later described Flo as "a lethal weapon" when deployed as substitute before embarking on an eulogy to the Norwegian as player and manager. "He's going to be at this club for the rest of his career. I sincerely hope. He's got everything. I hope he's going to be a legend at Stamford Bridge."

The Scandinavian's extraordinary patience Vialli conceded, has eased the manager's task. "Everybody wants Tore, in England and in Europe," he said, "but now you'll see him in Chelsea's starting line-up a lot." The tribute flowed on, at one point begging the question: Is he the best striker around?

An amused Vialli pondered before reminding everyone: "Well, there's Gianfranco Zola."

Vialli himself, of course, is statistically Chelsea's best striker but the manager will not be volunteering to extend that record. "I'm fit but I'm 34 and not just a player. With

fielder, persuades him to adopt the same hairstyle and body shape and, by presto, no longer is there only one Paul Gascoigne.

The great one limped out of this encounter at half-time, the victim of a heavy first-minute challenge by Keith Jones but also embarrassed by the act of retribution which produced an opening goal from the penalty spot for Clive Mendonca. Enter the Gazza clone.

Headed goals have never formed a large part of the Gascoigne repertoire but rescuing missions have, and he would have been pleased to put his name to the beader

possession 55% Che 45% Wim

Attempts on target 11 8

Attempts off target 11 8

Corners 2 5

Fouls 4 11

Offsides 2 2

Bookings 1 2

Sendings-off 0 0

Match stats

Possession 55% Che 45% Wim

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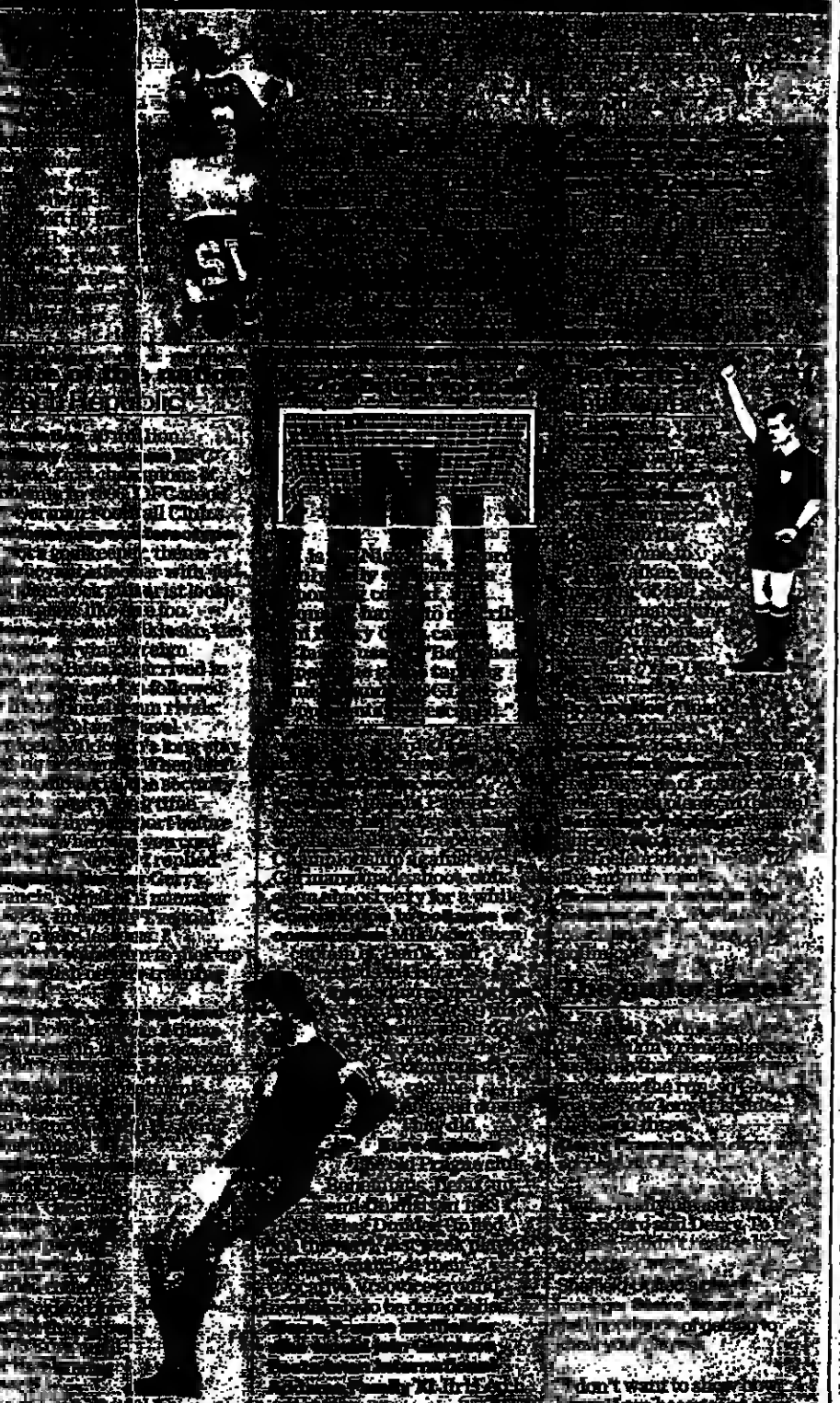
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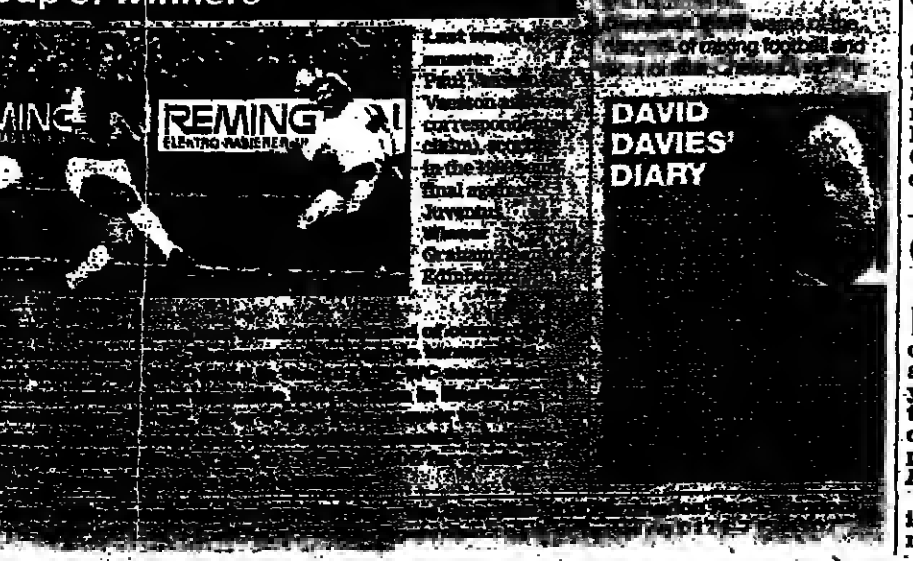
## A life in pictures



## Ask the experts



## Cup of winners



## Premiership



Air conditioning... Leeds's Martin Hiden disputes possession with Karlheinz Riedle of Liverpool, for whom it was a third straight league defeat

Liverpool 1 Leeds United 3

# Harsh reality hits Houllier hard

Ian Ross on a fruitless first outing for Liverpool's new managerial double-act, the team's third defeat at Anfield in eight days

LIKE anybody who finds himself pursuing a career in a profession with a high rate of failure, Gérard Houllier has come to appreciate the virtues of taking solace when and where you can find it.

He had to look hard on Saturday evening, though, but in the end he managed to scoop together just enough crumbs of comfort to keep the wolves from the door.

Forty-eight hours after his managerial partnership with Roy Evans had gone the way of all things makeshift, Houllier's were the only excuses echoing around Anfield.

It cannot have been easy for him as he now probably appreciates that he has assumed control at precisely the wrong time, of a club where the supporters have long memories and short tempers. Fate has not been kind.

Liverpool's third consec-

utive league defeat — and third defeat at home in the space of eight days — leaves them so far adrift of the Premiership's leading bunch that thoughts will already be turning toward summer and the removal of the dead wood.

As Houllier took his place at pitch-side before kick-off, an awkward few days finally behind him, a large banner bearing the legend "Thanks Roy" fluttered in the breeze beneath the Anfield Road stand. An empty car park berth apart, it was the only reminder that the Evans era is over, until the team emerged that is.

Curiously the Frenchman seems to speak much better English now that Evans is no longer at his side nodding "I now have a psychological job and a footballing job on my hands," he said.

Houllier is an endearingly honest man, one blinkered by

understandable bias but endearingly honest none the less. Whether he will be as urbane and charitable if Liverpool's fall from grace is not swiftly arrested, we shall have to wait and see.

It does not seem likely that he will find the remedy to the club's ills in his coaching techniques or in the chest-thumping partisanship of his new assistant Phil Thompson, but rather in the chequebook of the chairman, David Moores.

"We do need new players,"

Match stats		
	Liv	Leeds
Possession	52%	48%
Attempts on target	11	6
Attempts off target	11	4
Corners	8	1
Fouls	15	13
Offsides	2	0
Bookings	2	3

Merseysiders a second penalty when Jonathan Woodgate sent David Thompson sprawling in the box. As the Gaffer and his mates stood around arguing, Leeds swept upfield and equalised, the 18-year-old substitute Alan Smith smothering home superbly with his first touch in senior football, after Robert Hopkins's shot had been blocked.

"That goal awakened in us some nightmare," said Houllier. "I knew that it would have dreadful consequences and it did." Six minutes later, after two precise finishes by the hitherto disgracefully lazy Jimmy Floyd Hasselbaink, Leeds were coasting.

"I thought it would be hard for us, I honestly did," said O'Leary. He might have been speaking for Messrs Houllier and Thompson.

A foot injury has forced Leeds's defender Ian Harte to pull out of the Republic of Ireland's squad which flies out to Belgrade today to face Yugoslavia on Wednesday. Midfielder's Curtis Fleming has been called up as cover.

Newcastle United 1 Sheffield Wednesday 1

## Sub-plot tells sorry tale

Michael Walker

ONE sure sign of a bad substitution is when the substitute becomes the talking point. Sadly, after another mesmerisingly incoherent performance from Newcastle United and another early lead squandered, the fact that Alan Shearer, David Batty and Dietmar Hamann were either taken off or introduced meant that they would occupy the post-match focus — especially given what Pavel Srniczek, a returning old boy, had to say about it all.

Sheffield Wednesday, Srniczek's new club, also had subs in mind as Benito Carbone's petulant reaction to his 68th minute removal had his manager Danny Wilson answering questions about fines. Fortunately for Carbone, Wilson is a good man-manager — and one who knows how to cope with boys too. Carbone will not be made to pay.

The fact that Wednesday's equaliser came after the Italian's exit aided Wilson's magnanimity — Pether Rudi's mis-control cannoning off Laurent Charvet past Shay Given 11 minutes from the end — but then Wilson felt

that anything less than a draw would have been "a travesty". He had a case, as Given made two good first-half saves and Andy Booth had what looked like a legal goal disallowed after 18 minutes.

It may not possess the familiar whiff of a Barnsley chop just yet, but Wilson may be missing something that smells like a spirit. Wilson has admitted he has had to "make allowances" for players like Carbone, something that never arose at Oakwell, but he needs the Italian's class. With Manchester United and Chelsea next, he also needs unity of purpose.

Srniczek thinks Wednesday, collectively, are progressing. He inferred the opposite about his former club when he said: "I like to play for a team that doesn't rely on one man", referring to Shearer. The England captain did not reappear after half-time due to a tightening hamstring and his absence was noticeable. Srniczek said: "Newcastle rely on Shearer too much and when he hasn't got the ball they don't know what to do with it."

"Of course a team should have big stars," Srniczek went

on, "but they should not be bigger than the team." Srniczek was not criticising Shearer's personality, more Newcastle's inability to maximise Shearer's talents. After 14 games in charge the responsibility for this would appear to be Rudd Gullit's. However, he chose to blame his inheritance — "a squad of players who were almost relegated".

In addition, Gullit said that too many of those players were competing for one position — central midfield. This led to Batty being dropped so that Hamann could play. But after 36 minutes Batty replaced the German "and showed he deserves to play".

But Batty is hardly a matchwinner and Newcastle rarely looked capable of adding to Paul Delgish's first Premiership goal. The lack of common endeavour was marked and Gullit is far from delivering on the S-word.

Moreover, the Dutchman now concedes that the incoming players who were "in cold storage" six weeks ago are now in the freezer cabinet, untouchable. Gullit has to make do with what he has — although as he pointed out, at least they have some experience of a relegation battle.

West Ham United 3 Leicester City 2

## Little Frank has big ambitions

Mark Redding

SOMEWHERE in the northern wastes beyond Birmingham there is a comedian called Frank Sidebottom who "entertains" audiences with a glove-puppet sidekick known as Little Frank.

Their one-joke act consists of taking a well-known ditty and then adding the word Timperley, thereby making a rendition of a song such as Waterloo Sunset into the supposedly hilarious Timperley Sunset.

Well now he is about to be upstaged. East London has its own version of Big Frank and Little Frank, similarly singing from the same songbook but this time with an air of deadly seriousness. The subject of their refrain: the absence of Little Frank from the full England squad to face the Czech Republic on Wednesday.

Frank Lampard junior, for it is he, took on Leicester City with the righteous fervour of a man who had a point to prove and it was largely down to his driving passion in midfield that West Ham are occupying sixth place in the Premiership.

But if it was galling to see the less forceful Lee Hendrie and the injured Emile Heskey given their first call-ups ahead of him, Lampard was not the sort of player to let him get it down.

"I'm not a sulker," he said. "I've got a lot of years in front of me and at 20 the fact that I've been noted for England is very encouraging."

It would seem that Lampard is the sort of creative midfielder Glenn Hoddle's side are in desperate need of

at the moment. But after being tipped to make the senior squad, he will instead have to console himself with an appearance for the Under-21s at Ipswich, probably as captain. Lampard, however, has no doubts where his real priorities lie. "I want to play for England as soon as possible because I'm very ambitious," he stressed.

After falling behind to an early goal from the West Ham fan Muzzy Izzet, it was Lampard's relentless running and probing that gradually gave the Irons the upper hand and he was eventually rewarded with a goal.

His swerving shot in the 76th minute provided West Ham with a 3-1 lead and sufficient breathing space to still run out victors after an own goal by the same player just before the end.

"He was disappointed not to be called up and he said to me last night, 'I'm going to go out and have a real goal,'" Frank Lampard senior, who is also West Ham's assistant manager, confided afterwards.

"Do I think he's ready for England? It's only a matter of time. He's one of those lads that whenever you ask him to step up a grade he can take it on board."

A weakened Leicester, missing Heskey and Tony Cottee, were always going to have difficulty and after their old boy Paul Kitson equalised in the 37th minute they were up against it. Steve Lomas's deflected shot gave the Hammers the lead 11 minutes into the second half and suddenly Europe was back on the East End agenda.

## Oh!?& it's time to watch Match of the Day

IT WAS that sort of moment every football fan can identify with. The match seems to be going so well, you think you are safely on top of things and then with-out warning everything goes pear-shaped, writes Mark Redding.

See Thearrie had that sinking feeling on Saturday night. It was only her second

Match of the Day, on second-moment from the BBC's News 24 channel, she was securely launched into her commentary on the FA Cup tie between Basingstoke Town and Bournemouth, and then disaster struck.

"The Ryman League side gave the visitors a second-half... 'Oh shit!' she said, and off went the sound.

Yesterday the BBC was all apologies. "It was not Sue's fault," a spokesman said contritely. "The programme had to be put together very quickly and Sue's first take was used instead of her second one." The offending segment was corrected before Match of the Day was re-transmitted at 7am yesterday morning.



# The Guardian Sport

Monday November 16 1998 www.football.guardian.co.uk

A weekend of cheers, tears and loathing

## Hoddle to give Dublin a Czech call

David Lacey

**D**ION DUBLIN looks certain to lead the England attack in Wednesday's friendly against the Czech Republic at Wembley. The only question concerns the identity of his partner up front.

Glenn Hoddle was probably planning to give the 29-year-old Dublin a game even before a hat-trick at Southampton on Saturday brought his total since joining Aston Villa from Coventry City to five goals in two matches; now the England coach has little option.

The strained hamstringing Alan Shearer suffered during Newcastle United's match against Sheffield Wednesday has ruled out the England captain and his withdrawal, coupled with the ankle injury which dented Leicester City the services of Emile Heskey at West Ham, looks like reducing Hoddle's choice of strikers to three. He had already lost Michael Owen and Teddy Sheringham before announcing the squad.

Dublin, therefore, is set to win his fourth cap, having appeared earlier this year in World Cup warm-ups against Chile at Wembley and Morocco and Belgium in Casablanca. His chances of making the squad for France improved once Ian Wright had been ruled out with a hamstring injury but in the end Hoddle preferred Les Ferdinand's greater international experience.

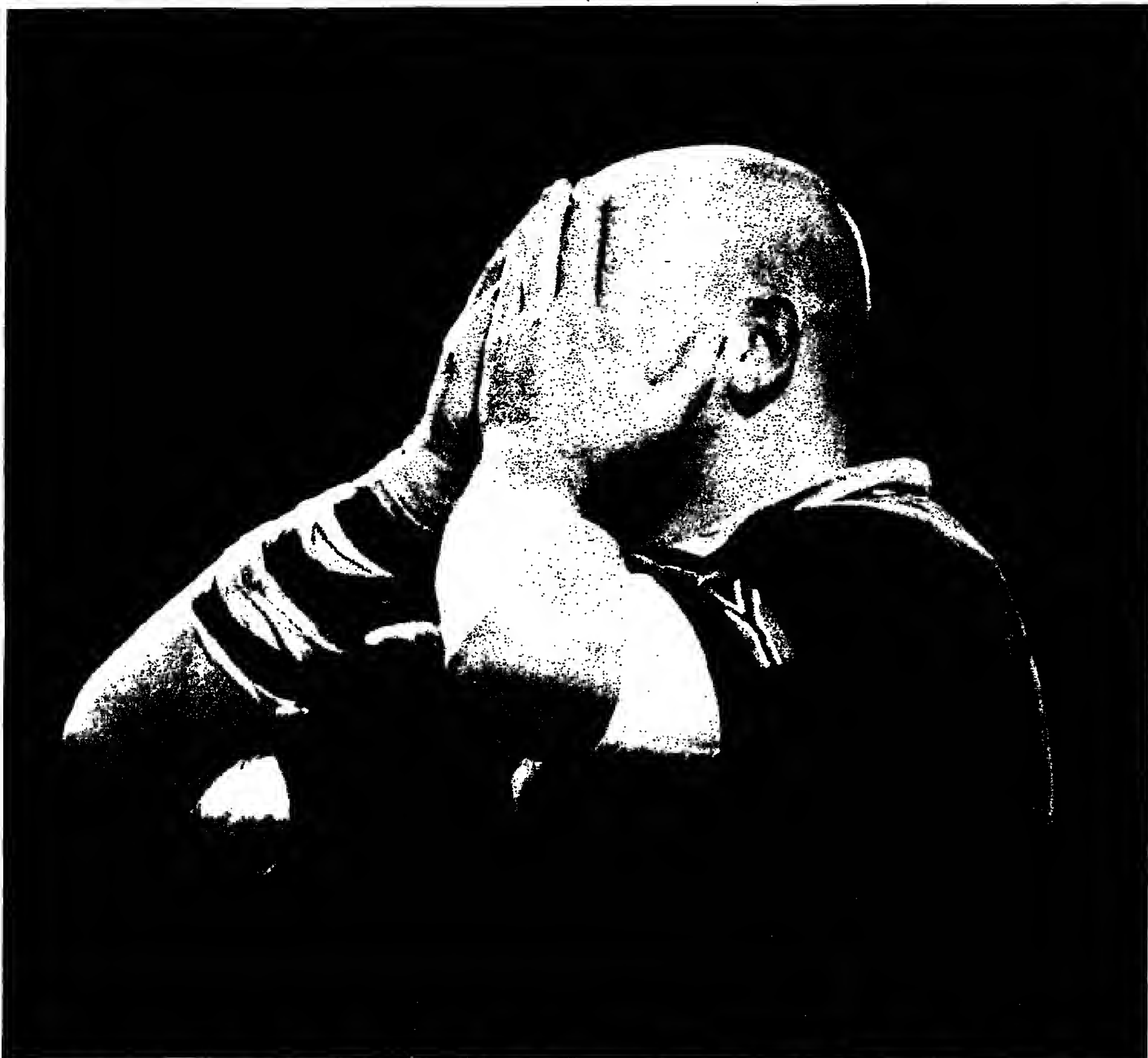
Now Wright, playing well for West Ham at the age of 35, appears to have a better chance of an England recall than Robbie Fowler, 12 years younger but at present sharing the Liverpool malaise. Whatever happens, the loss of Shearer will make Wednesday's match less meaningful in terms of England's preparations for the crucial European Championship qualifying match against Poland at Wembley in March.

The friendly against France, the World Cup holders, in February will be rather more relevant in that respect, but Hoddle still needs a good result now after England's faltering start to the Euro 2000 qualifiers. The Czech game, moreover, will lack meaning if he does not field a recognisable England team.

With Paul Scholes, who like Shearer has played in England's last seven matches, another doubtful starter after a weekend of twanging hamstrings, Hoddle may seize the opportunity to remind Paul Merson that he still has a role to play at international level. He has remained on the fringe since replacing an exhausted Scholes against Argentina in the World Cup after David Beckham's dismissal. Last March Merson had started an England game for the first time in nearly four years.

Gareth Southgate will join up with the England squad later today because he wants to be present at the birth of his first child, due to be induced this morning.

Martin Thorpe, page 18



### Emotions run high as Wales champion the underdog cause

Craig Gurnell, top, holds his head in despair after an inspired Wales side almost pulled off the surprise of the season against the world champion Springboks. Ian Malin and Paul Rees at Wembley, page 13.

No such disappointment at Bedlington, right, where the giant-killing Terriers gave Second Division Colchester an FA Cup manning. At Highbury, however, there were few smiles to greet George Graham's "traitors" return with Tottenham. David Lacey, page 18. PHOTOGRAPHS: NEAL CROFTON, WILL WALKER, TOM JENKINS



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# All roads lead to Berlin

It is the biggest building site on the continent. They are hard at work on Europe's greatest railway station and the government is moving in soon. **Neal Ascherson** on the monster rising from the Prussian sands

**B**erlin, capital of Germany. Think we know about Berlin, capital of Europe? The world has not yet got in focus the monster they are emerging from the Prussian sands.

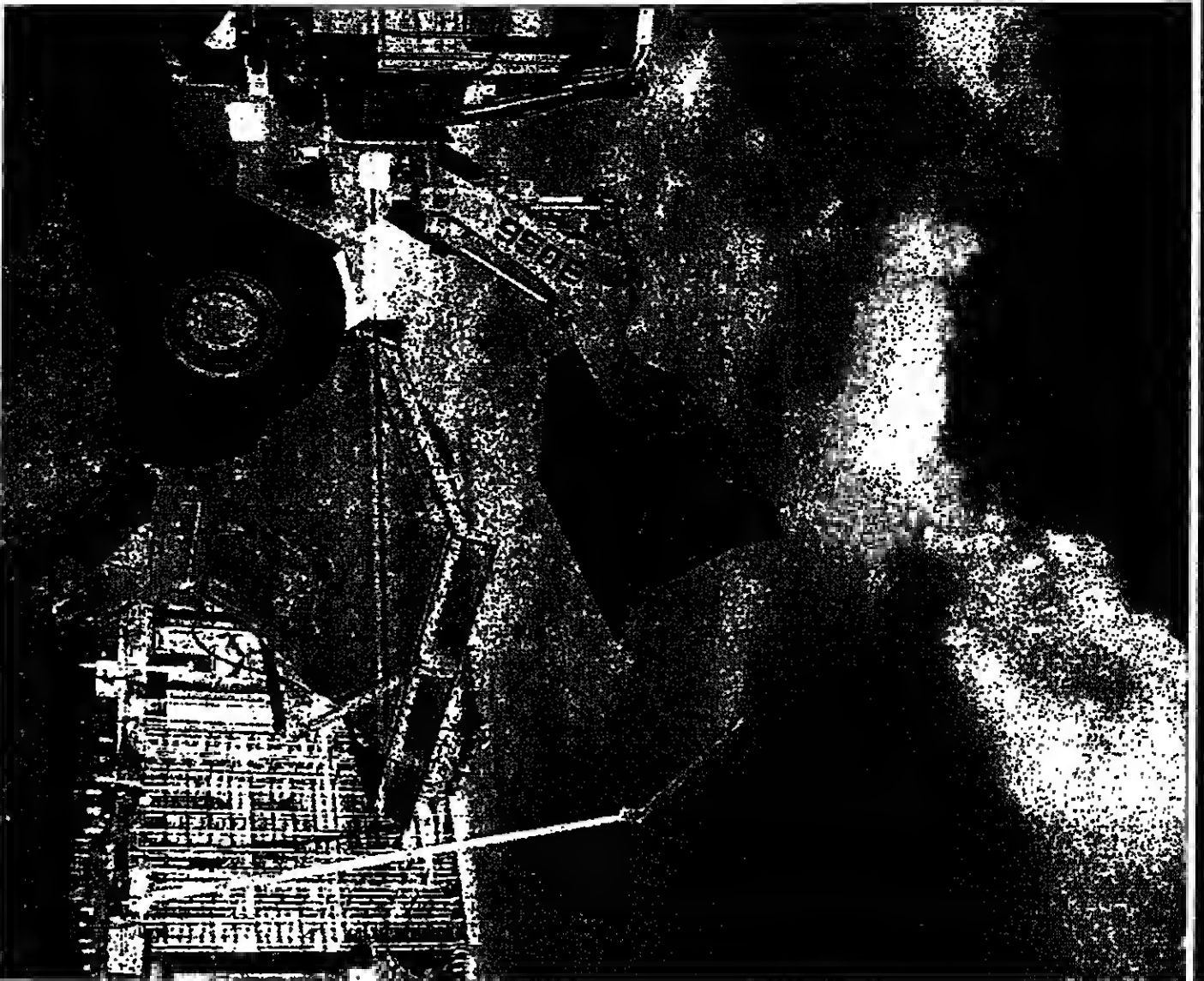
Nobody really knows how big the city will become. Nobody quite meant the decision to build a new centre of German government to gather around and become the founding of a new international metropolis. But that is what is happening.

Germany will be the heartland of the 21st century, of a united Europe in the 21st century. Our currency, the euro, will be run from Frankfurt. But Berlin may come to be the focus of European culture and politics. Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary are about to join the EU on the German bank. In 20 years time, the very epicentre of European gravity will have been shifted eastwards to a point nearly halfway between Moscow and the Atlantic. That point is called Berlin.

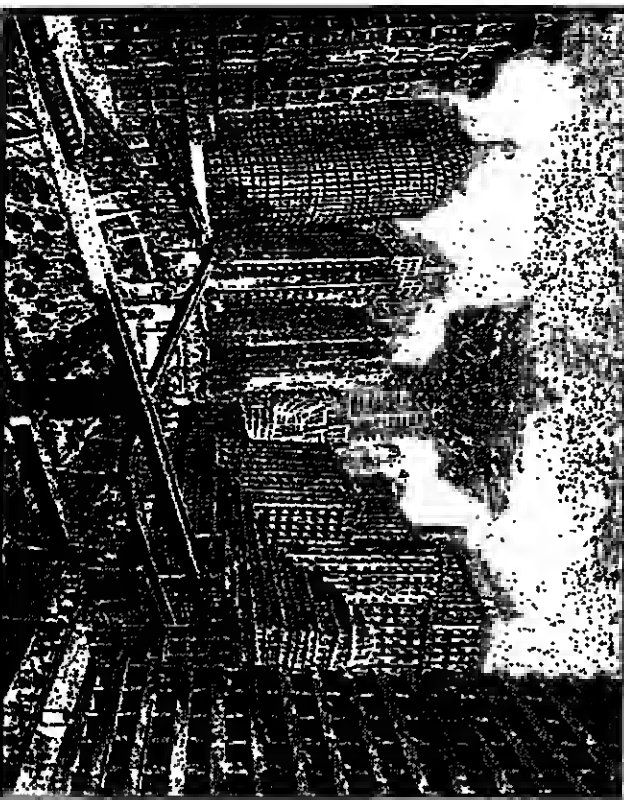
This is the biggest building site in Europe. To travel through it, leaving out of the train window as the Berlin station, the 21st century, the new station, will have a 430-metre glass concourse, 68 escalators and 37 lifts. The North-South line will run underneath it, passing through a tunnel nearly two miles long. On the whole project, German Railways are spending more than £7 billion.

Stockholm to Vienna? In the West, we hardly think of this as a vital transport artery. But this is because we have not yet learned the new Berlin's geography of Europe. Prague will be less than four hours away; east-central Europe, now entering the EU, will look to Germany and Scandinavia for markets and tourists and investment.

Very soon, though nobody knows exactly when, the new chancellor, Gerhard Schröder, will move his office from Bonn to Berlin. The vibrant Social Democrats (SPD) have said that they want to press on with the historic removal of government from Bonn to Berlin. The next president of Germany will be elected in the Reichstag building in May 1999 by the Bundestag (parliament), settled into its new home. Some of the new



The new metropolis? Transforming the city at the Reichstag and (left) Fritz Lang's vision of Berlin, the city of the future



ministries are ready to receive their tenants. Others are still in the ground. In the jostle for space, big ministries pull rank, some of the smaller departments which were located in West Berlin during the Cold War, like the Anti-Monopoly Bureau, are having to give up their offices and move to Bonn.

What should the parliament be called when it goes to Berlin? Should it go on calling itself the Bundestag (federal parliament), or the Reichstag (republican parliament), or — (republican parliament), or — with solemn accuracy — the Bundestag-Reichstag?

It will not be the sleepy Bundestag, it will be the new Reichstag. This is expected to be a Republic with some Berlin qualities — shyness, impatience, despatch. But neither will it be a Reichstag — an expansionist empire out to dominate its neighbours, an old-fashioned nation-state which no longer needs to pool sovereignty with others.

On the right, some intellectuals

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## Steve Bell



## Doonebury



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# 1000 years

To mark the end of the second millennium, the Guardian is publishing a series of 1,000 articles, each highlighting a different aspect of world history. Each Monday we publish the highlights here.



**Day 84: 1168-87**  
During one of the periodic outbreaks of peace with France, Henry II betrothed his son Richard to Alice, the daughter of Louis VII. The last was already the Duke of Aquitaine. He was 10 years old.

**Day 85: 1169-89**  
The tales of King Arthur in the "History" of Britain produced by the chronicler Geoffrey of Monmouth in the mid-1180s had taken the medieval literary world by storm. An Arthurian legend was now sweeping Western Europe and in England it was considered treason to question the so-called prophecies of Merlin.

**Day 86: 1170-71**  
Thomas Becket returned to England from exile to a rapturous reception. He denounced Henry who, exasperated, uttered the infamous question: "Who will rid me of this turbulent priest?" Four knights confronted Becket in Canterbury Cathedral (above), where they beheaded him to pieces.

**Day 87: 1172-73**  
Henry's sons - Henry, Richard and Geoffrey - rebelled against their father. Louis VII, King of France, egged them on. Dressing as a man, Eleanor of Aquitaine, Henry's extraordinary queen, escaped house arrest to join them, but was recognised and recaptured.

**Day 88: 1174-75**  
In the beleaguered Christian kingdom of Jerusalem, the death of King Amaury brought Baldwin IV to the throne. He was just 13, and two years earlier had begun to show the first symptoms of leprosy.

**Day 89: 1176-77**  
The cult of Becket was still all the rage in England. A memorial bridge was proposed, to cross the Thames in London - it would have houses and shops on it, and the rent would pay for its upkeep. This early form of privatised utility would become known as London Bridge.

**Day 90: 1178-79**  
Chichen Itza, cultural capital of the Maya, was sacked by the rapacious and unscrupulous king of the Mayans, Hunuc Ceel. Surviving Mayans abandoned the city and founded a new capital to the south, named Tayasal.

**Day 91: 1180-81**  
Read the full report in daily at [www.guardian.co.uk/millennium](http://www.guardian.co.uk/millennium)

on the place were soon swept away. Central Berlin - the government and business quarter - will be a crazy jumble of discordant styles. On either side of the city, the capital of a German remains two cities. Gilt and elegance penetrate only slowly into the peeling streets of what was East Berlin. But the West, too, is changing. The Kurfürstendamm, parade street of West Berlin, is slowly fading and tarnishing as the heart of Berlin prosperity and activity moves away into the new urban heartland where the Wall once ran. It is a rough night club, that world of top-hatted hostesses, transvestite taxi-dancers and later wood nostalgia. And the generation of Berlin politicians who knew only the West is fading too. Peter Schröder, the young and amiable SPD senator for the environment, will probably run for mayor. "Some people are still stuck in West Berlin attitudes," he says. "But my generation really did grow up after the city reunited, and we have a sense of Berlin as a whole."

Some things about Berlin, none the less, don't change. One is the taste for gigantism, for building on a superhuman scale, which reduces people to ants. The German emperor built like that, and so did Hitler, whose colossal Berlin reconstruction was severely begun when war stopped it. (Albert Speer's triumphal arch would have made the Arc de Triomphe look like a keyhole, and this year construction work was badly halted when it hit the arch's battle-damaged concrete foundations.) After 1945, the communist rulers of the East created the wholesale urban mounds of the Stalinallee in the same spirit. The glass and steel Prussian sky are merely carrying on the tradition.

The other eternal Berlin trait is sudden, cataclysmic change. Every generation or so, something like the San Francisco earthquake happens. One of this turbulent priest? Four knights confronted Becket in Canterbury Cathedral (above), where they beheaded him to pieces.

Two centuries ago, this was a dear little neo-classical town among trees. Then, in the 19th century, its population rapidly doubled, and almost instantly doubled again. On the site of old Berlin, there arose a sprawling, pompous imperial capital equipped with world-famous museums and surrounded by power stations and engineering factories. This city lasted until the second world war, when British bombing and storming by the Red Army smashed it to rubble.

Fifty years of divided Berlin ensued, until the Wall fell and once again the city went into transformation. After each earthquake, those who used to know the place wander about completely lost, in an urban landscape as unfamiliar as the moon. But that is the true Berlin experience. This is not so much a place as a process - or a Phoenix.

**Read on...**  
In print  
Frank's Metropolis: A History of Berlin, by Alexander Richter (Harcourt, 1998, £29.99). A history of modern Germany told through the experience of its capital city.

Berlin And Its Culture: A Historical Portrait, by Ronald Taylor (Vita University Press, 1998, £23.95). A handsomely illustrated account of Berlin's history and cultural movements.

Goodbye to Berlin, by Christopher Lasch (Vintage, 1998, £12.99). A classic account of how the city was destroyed and how it was reborn.

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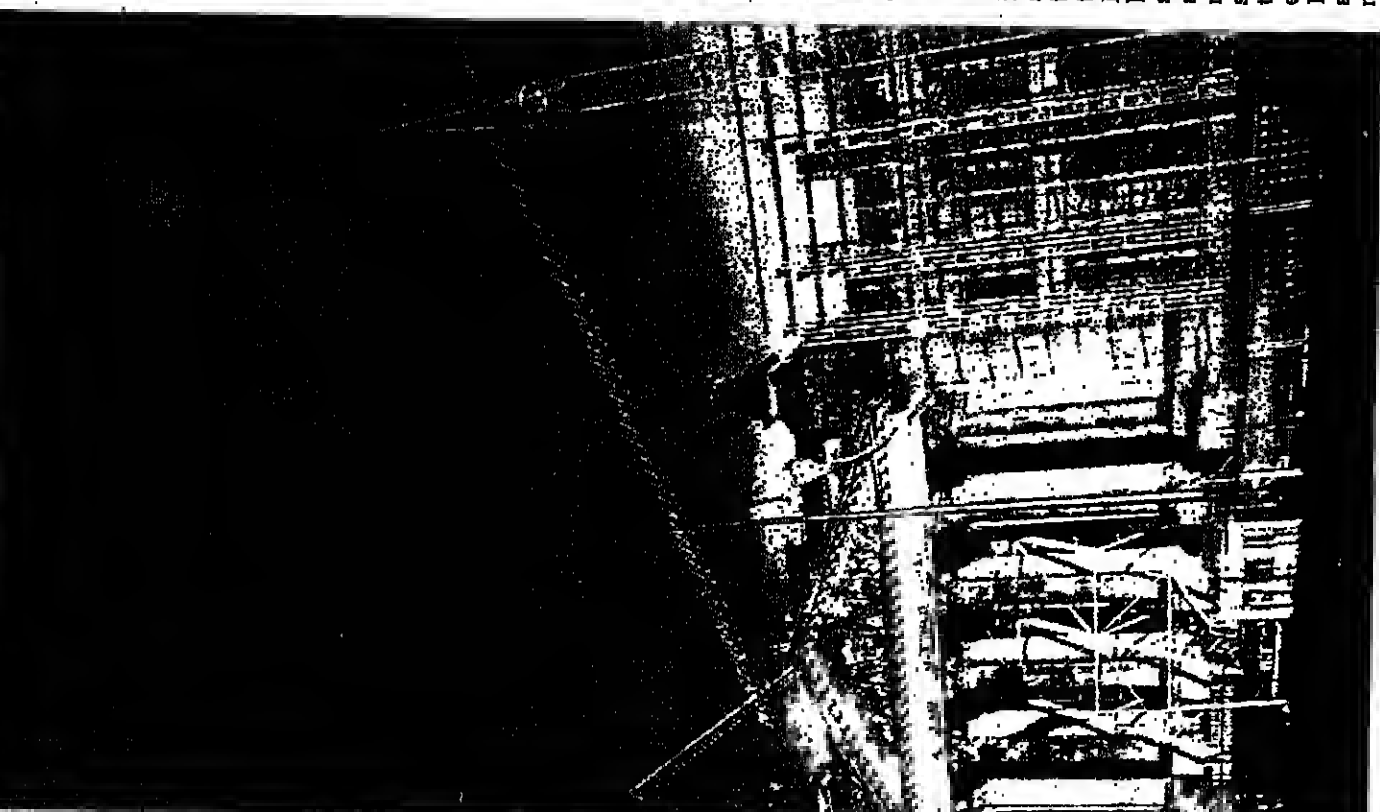
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## Capital gains: a tale of three cities

	London	Paris	Berlin
Population (in millions)	6.3	6.1	3.3
Unemployment	8.3	11.1	11.8
Open houses	2	2	3
Major galleries	48	31	33
Newspapers	14	12	7
Annual expenditure on art (in millions)	£924	£285	£76

argue that the Berlin Republic should move away from the westward orientation of Bonn, into a more assertive and independent stance. But the new Red-Green government, a coalition of the SPD with the Greens, has no such intentions. In that sense, they will bring the essence of Bonn with them to the city on the Spree. In an interview published in the New Left Review, the political philosopher Jürgen Habermas spelt out his own hopes for a Berlin Republic. He writes: "We would all like to live amongst fellow citizens who are accustomed to respecting the particularity of strangers, the autonomy of individuals and the plurality of regional, ethnic and religious identities. The new republic would do well to remember the role of Germany in the catastrophic history of the 20th century, but also those moments of emancipation and achievement of which we can be proud."

Berlin's monuments of culture either collapsed under the bombs or withered during the Cold War. But unification has brought a rush of museum buildings, new projects or reconstructions. There are some 150 old buildings in the city, from the huge Strasse des 17. Juni to the Jewish Museum, or the loty spaces of the converted Hamburger Station. The cultural downside is that the property boom in East Berlin is driving out the large colony of artists from all over the world who settled there after the Wall came down.

Berlin has always been a city of "strangers" and of "plurality of identities". Most Berliners turn out to have been born somewhere else. There are 137,000 Turks living in the city, 72,000 people from former Yugoslavia and nearly 30,000 Poles. And there are now three Russian newspapers and about a dozen Rus-

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**Diary** ● Paul Dore is putting his stamp of authority on Associated Newspapers. In the interests of maintaining standards he has demanded that all subeditors wear a collar and tie during the week, although there is some slight disagreement for along jumpers on a Sunday. Dore is well loved by the subeditors for his floor at edition time, peering over their shoulders and "making" if changes could be made to little bits of the layout, like, all offit. Long suffering subeditors refer to Dore as the "gum twacker".

● The Conservatives might have made a bit of a blunder in hiring Bruno Brookes, in a former Radio 1 DJ, to be a key member of the Creative Forum, the farcical body set up to create a "new national broad image" for the party and its image. Brookes is well remembered for giving interviews about his former girlfriend, Anthea Turner, recalling her as "sexually satisfying" — and for hiring private detectives to spy on her. All very Tory, and certainly perfect for relaying that important correct image.

● James Brown, struggling editor of GQ, was so pleased that he appeared above arch enemy Nicolas Coleridge in the Observer's Power 300 list he bought a copy and had it sent to his office. To ensure that his staff noticed the great victory he highlighted his entry in the list, bright pen. Brown was 253rd, Coleridge was nowhere at 286th.

● Now, now, Channel 4, where are your distinctions? Far be it from the Guardian to lecture anyone on a pedantic point, but to say that this Michael Jackson's obviously overworked press team (it's about a new series on the evolution of sexuality) "Psychologist Helena Fisher traces [women's] phallicism to the places of Africa 2 million years ago" We didn't know that Nairobi airport was the place to go for such interesting insights.

● Rumours of Jonathan Ross's rise to the heady heights of Film 99 could be wide of the mark. Johnny Vaughan, the clownish face of the Big Breakfast, is said by insiders to have overtaken him as favourite for Barry Norman's old job.

25 years after the seminal work which redefined the art of reporting, **John Dugdale** reveals the real importance of Tom Wolfe's New Journalism to everything from Loaded to the New Yorker — and yes, it could mean dusting off your white suit

# The Wolfe pack

**T**here's a certain irony to the way recent blanket coverage of Tom Wolfe and Hunter S. Thompson — linked to Wolfe's novel *A Man In Full* and Thompson's semi-imaginary *Fear And Loathing In Las Vegas* — has been triggered by their fiftieth birthdays. For 25 years ago this month, they both appeared in a book whose main claim was that journalism had "wiped out the novel as literature's main event".

First published in November 1973, *The New Journalism* (edited by Wolfe and S. Thompson) assembled a formidable squad of expatriate literary non-fiction, including Norman Mailer, Truman Capote, Joan Didion, Michael Herr and George Plimpton, to support that contention. Embracing social reporting, crime, politics, war, finance, interviews, sport and showbiz, it's the most influential collection of journalism ever put together.

You don't need to be a card-carrying New Journalist to have been shaped by the movement, as the cultural commentator Peter York argues. Wolfe effect alone, he says, has been massive. But it's often his other people, which means it's everywhere but usually unrecognised and unacknowledged, influencing people who don't even know when it comes from. By now it's absolutely built into everybody's DNA.

What, then, is New Journalism as Wolfe sees it? "Tracing it back to the early sixties — his own 'entry into this new arena' came in 1963 — Wolfe largely introduced to the anthology literature as 'journalism that would read like a novel', mimicking literary dialogue, scene construction and structure. These techniques served a novelistic hunger for social exploration — although the novel itself had lost its appetite for realism, perceiving relinquishing the extraordinary spectacle of sties American to mere reporters. And such exploration required research 'more intense, more detailed, more time-consuming than anything that newspaper or magazine reporters were accustomed to'.

Also questioned was the traditional dogma of the journalist as either the dogged, trilling-weaving hack or what Wolfe calls 'the Literary Gentleman in the Grandstand', aloofly disinterested with those he writes about. The pose of impersonal detachment (hand-in-hand with a 'neutral' voice (the 'pale beige tone' of a 'pallid little troll') which Wolfe wanted to 'little troll') which Wolfe wanted to 'somed in favour of grander stylistic experiments.

Already, to the anthology, you can see tensions emerging in the 10-year-old movement, with Wolfe aware that 'foregrounding' the journalist could



**'For the first time, I felt I was writing the truth. I wasn't encumbered with this terrible overcoat of objectivity and omniscience'**  
— Lynn Barber

writers of all profiles, being panned one or two himself. But it's fair to assume that gonzo journalism, the mad magazine and confessional writing of all children or grandchildren, had prefer not to acknowledge.

**Style Journalism** "You've got Tom Wolfe to thank for me," says Peter York. "I first read his work to the mid-seventies, just before Anro Barr asked me to write for Harper's & Queen, and it came as an absolute revelation. People take different things from him, the use of language, the whole perspective. What I took was 'journalism' — doing pop sociology, discovering subcultures, defining new sorts of human beings." The best-known result (co-written with Barr) was *The Savage Hunter Handbook*.

What York calls "Wolfe-ism" became a figure in Harper's and Teller in the eighties, with writers for Wolfe's glossies also mimicking Wolfe's dandyish irreverence, the smart send-up typified by Radical Club's understated portrait of Leonard Bernstein or the profile of Marshall NME and would love to be seen in

slips as showboats for it. But civilised Esquire's bristling, off-putting, the mad magazine, was directly inspired by the sties movement.

"When I was 16, 17 in Yorkshire," recalls James Brown, the creator of *Loaded* (now editing GQ), "I read all my books, those would be the ones I'd keep. My original treatment for *Loaded* called it 'Arcos' edited by Hunter S. Thompson. He's definitely influenced the way I run magazines, that idea that five story isn't happening, become the story."

**Rock Journalism** Probably the journalistic form most associated with NME, the British music press was influenced by Rolling Stone, which had rapidly established new techniques. Brown recalls impressing the editor of *Sounds* (who offered to lend him the book) to the mid-eighties by having already read the anthology, and pinning to Tony Parsons an essay who "wrote about Wolfe a lot in NME and would love to be seen in

## Arts Architecture

# Spare me the holiday snaps and the glossy tomes. The only companion I need is Mr Pevsner

**Jonathan Glancey** recalls the days when he toured the country with nothing but a yellowing architectural guide in his pocket



**L**ast week, three weighty copies of London 4: North landed on my desk for review. This is the latest in the long line of architectural guides to The Buildings Of England, 49 to date, nominally co-written by the late Sir Nikolaus Pevsner (1902-82), an architectural historian who has become a household name among the great British culture-crawling classes.

While it was more than a generation ago that Pevsner's guides were first published, the Pevsner guides since the first three emerged in 1961, to be revised and reissued in 1967, 1971, 1975, 1979, 1983, 1987, 1991, 1995, 1999, 2003, 2007, 2011, 2015, 2019, 2023, 2027, 2031, 2035, 2039, 2043, 2047, 2051, 2055, 2059, 2063, 2067, 2071, 2075, 2079, 2083, 2087, 2091, 2095, 2099, 2103, 2107, 2111, 2115, 2119, 2123, 2127, 2131, 2135, 2139, 2143, 2147, 2151, 2155, 2159, 2163, 2167, 2171, 2175, 2179, 2183, 2187, 2191, 2195, 2199, 2203, 2207, 2211, 2215, 2219, 2223, 2227, 2231, 2235, 2239, 2243, 2247, 2251, 2255, 2259, 2263, 2267, 2271, 2275, 2279, 2283, 2287, 2291, 2295, 2299, 2303, 2307, 2311, 2315, 2319, 2323, 2327, 2331, 2335, 2339, 2343, 2347, 2351, 2355, 2359, 2363, 2367, 2371, 2375, 2379, 2383, 2387, 2391, 2395, 2399, 2403, 2407, 2411, 2415, 2419, 2423, 2427, 2431, 2435, 2439, 2443, 2447, 2451, 2455, 2459, 2463, 2467, 2471, 2475, 2479, 2483, 2487, 2491, 2495, 2499, 2503, 2507, 2511, 2515, 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